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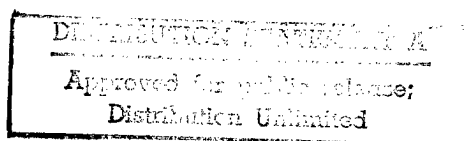
31 MARCH 1987

# Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 12, DECEMBER 1986



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## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

### VIETNAM

#### TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 12, DECEMBER 1986

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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OVERCOMING EACH DIFFICULTY AND CHALLENGE, CONTINUING TO ADVANCE DOWN THE PATH  
OF REVOLUTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 1-3

[Editorial commemorating the 40th anniversary of the national resistance  
against France"]

[Text] Forty years have passed since our entire nation arose in the resistance against France. During those 40 years, countless major changes occurred in our country. Today, as we look back on the sacred war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors, from the turbulent day it began to its victorious conclusion, many profound thoughts come to mind. Perhaps the most profound is that under exceedingly difficult and complex circumstances fraught with stern, serious and seemingly insurmountable challenges, circumstances in which the fate of the fatherland was "hanging by a thread," our party, our state, our army and all our people, ever vigilant and brave, prevailed and won glorious victory, protected and developed upon the gains made by the revolution and continuously advanced the cause of revolution. Those were unparalleled circumstances: our country was besieged and being attacked by imperialist and reactionary enemies, foreign and domestic, all of whom were collaborating with the aim of "swallowing up" our young administration. Our country's economy, a backward economy due to many years of colonial and feudal rule, had been ravaged by war and natural disasters. As a result, many sectors of the economy were stagnant, in chaos or crippled. In addition to foreign aggressors, the enemies of hunger, ignorance, unemployment and other social ills were rampant and causing very serious harm. The laboring people faced towering difficulties in their everyday lives. In many fields, the organizations of revolutionary forces were still weak, particularly the armed forces which were still crudely equipped and untrained and possessed little command or combat experience. Imperialists and reactionaries at home and abroad took advantage of this critical situation. They collaborated, traded interests with one another, attempted to keep us in an isolated position and forced us to deal with many enemies at once. With the support and assistance of the British, U.S. and Japanese imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries, the French imperialists were moving closer to invading our country once again. Less than 1 month after the revolutionary administration was established, French forces opened fire, attacking and occupying Saigon, thus beginning their second war of aggression against our country. As we made more concessions, the French

imperialists became more aggressive and widened their occupation. On 19 December 1946, following more than 1 year of concessions and having reached the point where we would stand for no more, President Ho Chi Minh issued the appeal for the nationwide war of resistance: "No, we would rather sacrifice everything than suffer the loss of our country, than be enslaved."(1)

All our people arose as one to wage the resistance against the French under the leadership of the party and the esteemed Uncle Ho--to wage the first resistance, a resistance that lasted nearly 9 years, of a country that had just emerged from the colonial system against a powerful colonialist country. How could we overcome the formidable difficulties and challenges we faced and fulfill the oath contained within the Declaration of Independence of "devoting the full measure of our spirit and forces, our lives and property to maintaining our freedom and independence" and advance our country's revolution to new stages of development? There were many factors that created the enormous strength through which we overcame each difficulty and challenge and won victory over the enemy.

The factor of foremost importance was the adoption by our party of a correct line to follow in the resistance, a line which reflected and complied with the objective laws of the revolution and revolutionary war and was consistent with the demands and level of development of the masses and with the country's specific circumstances and conditions. The essence of this line was a full-scale, protracted war of resistance fought by all the people, a war fought by relying mainly upon ourselves while making every effort to obtain international aid. On the basis of this line, the party set the strategic tasks, the strategic guidelines and the specific tasks in each field of activity during each period, all of which entailed appropriate, practical and creative forms of organization and measures. The two strategic tasks, which had to be performed simultaneously, were to wage the war of resistance and build the country. The purpose here was to establish the proper relationship between resisting the French colonialist aggressors and building and strengthening the people's democratic regime in order to advance to socialism, between defending and building the revolutionary administration in order to carry out the tasks of the national, democratic revolution. The party augmented, refined and concretized its line in the following guidelines: "We must learn as we fight, must review our experience and practice self-criticism and criticism with each battle we fight."(2) It attached importance to adopting specific, appropriate positions and policies, adopting practical and flexible organizational measures and mobilizing the enormous strength of the people to turn its line, positions and policies into realities of everyday life.

The second factor was that, under the leadership of the party, the resistance against France, from the time that it broke out until it concluded in victory, was truly imbued with the thinking of the people being the base of the war effort, of all the people fighting the enemy, fighting the enemy in every field. This thinking was at the heart of the resistance war line, at the heart of our military science and art. It tapped the strength of each citizen from the very moment that President Ho Chi Minh issued the appeal to wage the war of resistance: "All men and women, old and young alike and regardless of their religion, political affiliation or ethnic group, all Vietnamese must

stand up and fight the French colonialists to save the fatherland. Those of you who have rifles, use your rifles; those of you who have swords, use your swords; those of you who have no swords, use spades, hoes or sticks. Everyone must make every effort to resist the French colonialists and save the country."(3) As a result of thoroughly adopting and acting in accordance with this thinking, of relying upon the people, of propagandizing, educating and mobilizing the people and tapping their intelligence and strength, the people's war developed more strongly and in a broader variety of ways with each passing day. "Every street was a front, every village was a fortress!" The people's armed forces, an army that was born of and served the people-- rapidly grew and matured, grew in size and quality. Greater victories were won in the full-scale war of resistance with each day that passed. The revolutionary movements of the masses steadily grew in scope and spirit.

The third factor was that, in terms of practical leadership and organizational efforts, the party truly fulfilled its role and displayed its skill in every field throughout the course of the resistance. Compared to the period of the August general uprising, extraordinary progress was made in building the party politically, ideologically and organizationally. The party was strong in size and quality, with special importance attached to quality, thus insuring that the quality of each basic organization of the party, of each cadre and party member was forged and heightened. Every party chapter at a basic unit had to be a command staff, every party member had to be in the vanguard on the combat and production fronts. The strict requirements of every basic organization of the party at that time were to truly lead and organize the masses well in successfully implementing the positions and policies of the party, rely upon the masses and develop their role in every job involved in the resistance and in national construction. The strict requirements of every cadre and party member at that time were to maintain the will to fight, volunteer, set good examples, place common interests above personal interests and cultivate and forge revolutionary virtues and qualities while developing a better ability to lead and command, developing a thorough and practical style, maintaining close ties to the masses and doing what they told others to do. The combat slogan of every organization of the party, every cadre and party member at that time was to cling to the land, cling to the people and cling to basic units in order to fight and produce.

The strength that prevailed over each difficulty and challenge, over the forces of the enemy in the resistance against France was the combined strength of our entire party, all our armed forces and all our people. It was the strength of a common will and united actions backed by the determination that "the resistance will surely be victorious" and determination to defend the independence and freedom of the fatherland and advance down the path of the socialist revolution.

The victory of the resistance against the French colonialist aggressors was "the death knell of old-style colonialism. At the same time, it was the bugle call marking the victory of the Vietnamese in their first battle against the U.S. interventionists and the opening stanza in the symphony that was the resistance against the United States for national salvation."(4) Following their victory in the resistance against France, our people had to continue to overcome countless hardships, sacrifices, difficulties and challenges in order

to bring the resistance against the United States for national salvation to total victory. And, during the past 10 years, new, large difficulties and challenges have confronted us. Our country has had to fight two wars to defend the fatherland against aggression by the expansionists and hegemonists and their lackeys and had to overcome the aftermath of repeated natural disasters.

To know virtually not one moment of peace in the past 40 years is truly rare for any country, ours included. For several long decades, our people have had to simultaneously carry out two strategic tasks: building the country and defending the fatherland. The revolution and revolutionary war are closely interrelated. They exert an impact upon and stimulate each other.

Today, in the face of the country's economic and social difficulties, we must focus our efforts on building socialism. At the same time, we must continue to resist the enemy's border war of encroachment and occupation and their wide-ranging war of sabotage and be ready to deal with each situation, be ready to defeat them should they recklessly unleash a large-scale war of aggression. The task of defending the country entails new demands: we must meet the requirements of a war fought under new conditions and against a new enemy; must conduct a widespread national defense educational effort among all the people so that everyone always displays high revolutionary vigilance and is clearly aware of the schemes and actions of the enemy; and must attach importance to building regular and modern people's armed forces and making the preparations necessary to mobilize the country for war on the basis of closely combining the economy with national defense, national defense with the economy.

Studying and developing upon the lessons and experiences of the resistance against France will help our entire party, all our armed forces and all our people to display a high spirit of overcoming each difficulty and meeting each challenge, increase their knowledge of real socialism and unite in struggle to successfully perform both strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap,"[Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 403.
2. "Lich su Dang cong sang Viet nam (so thao),"[History of the Communist Party of Vietnam (draft)], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, Volume I, pp 762-763.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap,"[Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, 1980, Volume I, p 403.
4. Truong Chinh: "Viet nam: 40 nam dau tranh va thang loi"[Vietnam: 40 Years of Struggle and Victory], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1985, p 8.

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CSO: 4210/5

SPEECH BY GENERAL SECRETARY TRUONG CHINH AT THE 4TH ALL-ARMY CONGRESS OF PARTY ORGANIZATION DELEGATES (13-18 OCTOBER 1986)

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 5-8, 24

[Speech by Truong Chinh]

[Text] Dear Comrades,

Amidst the atmosphere of joy and excitement of this All-Army Congress of Party Organization Delegates, allow me to extend to all cadres and soldiers of the Vietnam People's Army and to all national defense workers and civil servants the hearty congratulations and sincere regards of the Party Central Committee, National Assembly, Council of State and Council of Ministers.

Through 30 years of war replete with sacrifices and hardships, our people, under the leadership of the party, won great victories. They liberated the South, reunified the fatherland, completed the people's national democratic revolution, launched the socialist revolution and began the advance by the entire country to socialism. These great victories belong to the people, among whom the people's armed forces have played the central role. We are proud of our efforts to implement the sacred Testament of the esteemed Uncle Ho, the father of Vietnam's revolution, the person who founded and forged our party, the beloved father of the people's armed forces.

During the past 11 years, our party, armed forces and people have continued to display high revolutionary heroism, waged a constant struggle to overcome very many difficulties caused by enemy attacks and natural disasters, won important victories in socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland and fulfilled our international obligations to the peoples of fraternal Laos and Cambodia. However, we have also committed serious shortcomings and mistakes in our leadership of the economy, shortcomings and mistakes which our party and people must make every effort to correct in order to continue the advance of our country's revolution.

Having begun at a very low starting point and currently facing a complex situation, our country is experiencing very many difficulties as it advances toward socialism. However, with the patriotism and love of socialism, with the tenacious and brave revolutionary tradition in combat and the tradition of diligence and creativity in labor of our armed forces and people combined with

the strength of our times, with the pure international sentiments and the large, wholehearted support and assistance of the party and people of the Soviet Union, of the community of fraternal socialist countries and our friends in the world, we will surely overcome each difficulty and meet each challenge.

To successfully complete the two strategic tasks of our country's revolution, our entire party, all our armed forces and all our people must make every effort to build upon their glorious traditions and turn the revolutionary heroism displayed in the war of liberation into revolutionary heroism in building socialism and defending the fatherland. We must be determined to rectify our shortcomings and mistakes and correct the "subjective and impetuous but also conservative and stagnant" thinking manifested in the structure of the economy and the economic management mechanism, in positions and policies as well as how we guide their implementation, in the setting of specific tasks as well as in the deployment of the corps of cadres in order to insure the successful performance of these tasks. The great importance and significance of the 6th National Party Congress lie in meeting these pressing requirements.

Under the light of the general line and the economic line of the party set at the 4th and 5th Congresses, on the basis of the actual situation and the important lessons and experiences of the past 10 years and in the spirit of changing the way we think and work, of revamping our thinking and style of work, the 6th Congress must further concretize these lines and decide the positions and tasks for the remaining years of the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. The congresses of the party organizations on the various levels, the cadres and members of the entire party, the mass organizations, political and social organizations and the people of the entire country are enthusiastically offering their thoughts concerning the tasks of our country's revolution in the years ahead.

Against the background of the atmosphere of intense anticipation that pervades our party and people in advance of the 6th Congress, this All-Army Congress of Party Organization Delegates is of very important significance. You must combine and fully reflect the diverse ideas that emerged from the party organization congresses on the various echelons within the army and contribute to the draft of the Political Report of the Party Central Committee. Recently, the Political Bureau discussed and unanimously reached important conclusions concerning several economic views of the party. Through studying the draft Political Report of the Party Central Committee and the conclusions of the Political Bureau and discussing them in a high spirit of responsibility, with a forthright, open and constructive attitude and in a fully democratic manner, this All-Army Party Organization Congress must make appropriate contributions to supplementing and refining the Political Report to be presented at the 6th Congress.

At the same time, your congress must objectively and seriously evaluate the performance of the tasks of defending the fatherland and building the armed forces, review the experience gained in recent years and, on this basis, define our national defense tasks in the years ahead with a view toward making our army solid and strong, making it an army that is truly worthy of being the

army of the heroic nation of Vietnam, an army that was born of and serves the people, and correctly implementing the teaching of the esteemed Uncle Ho: our army must "be loyal to the country and filial to the people," "be loyal to the party, filial to the people and ready to fight and die for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for socialism. It must complete every task, overcome every difficulty and defeat every enemy."

Dear Comrades,

As we carry out the socialist revolution in our country in the current stage, we must always closely combine our efforts to build the country with our efforts to defend the fatherland, combine the economy with national defense and focus our efforts on building the economy while attaching importance to building increasingly solid and strong national defense forces.

To do this well, we must have a thorough understanding of the party's views concerning people's war and a national defense system in which all the people participate. We must put into practice the guidelines "all the people build the country and defend the fatherland," "all the armed forces defend the fatherland and build the country." This is the basis upon which our people can truly exercise their right to be the masters in building and defending the country. It is a source of invincible strength, is the law of victory in a people's war. We must concern ourselves with developing and increasing the strength of the people and must make every effort to stabilize and gradually improve their material and cultural lives. We must simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, build stronger political and moral consensus among the people and, on this basis, strengthen our national defense capabilities.

We must concern ourselves with building the rear area, which is a constant and decisive factor in victory and an abundant source of material and moral support for the frontlines, to insure that soldiers have what they need, man the frontline with a feeling of assurance, are combat ready and win victory over every enemy of our country's revolution.

We must concern ourselves with building powerful people's armed forces and developing the military science and art of Vietnam's revolution. Attention must be given to studying the military careers and thinking of President Ho Chi Minh, of Le Duan and other leaders. The strength behind the defense of the country is the strength of all the people, the nucleus of whom is the people's armed forces, which consist of the three different elements of the military, is the regular and increasingly modern people's army.

Our party has observed: the victories recently recorded in combat and construction amidst very difficult and complex circumstances prove that the revolutionary character and fine tradition of the army are continuing to be maintained and upheld. At the same time, the party has also pointed out the weaknesses and deficiencies of the army. These stem from many causes. Some reflect the shortcomings and weaknesses of our country's socio-economic system. Some are due to subjective shortcomings on your part, on the part of cadres and soldiers. On the occasion of this All-Army Congress of Delegates, together with contributing ideas aimed at rectifying the common shortcomings of the entire party, we must display a high spirit of self-criticism and



criticism and forthrightly analyze the subjective shortcomings of everyone's echelon or unit in order to develop effective measures for correcting them in the years ahead. You--particularly those of you who are key cadres--must deeply understand that your own strengths, shortcomings and weaknesses from the standpoint of your qualifications, skills, qualities and ethics as well as your style and way of life affect the quality of troops, affect the completion of assigned tasks.

Our army has a tradition of unity and consensus, of uniting around the Party Central Committee and obeying the party without question. It has a tradition of internal unity and unity between itself and the civilian population. It has a tradition of unity among the armed forces of our country. The situation and tasks of the revolution demand that we uphold these traditions, make every effort to build upon strengths, be determined to correct shortcomings and eradicate the negative phenomena that are weakening the fighting strength and reducing the prestige of the army and reducing the confidence of the people. We must bring about well coordinated development in the areas of political and ideological work as well as organizational and policy work, raise our management and command standards, meet certain material and technical requirements and gradually endeavor to complete the tasks assigned by the party. The army must set good examples and contribute to the struggle to eliminate the negative phenomena in society.

We must maintain and build upon the revolutionary character and fine traditions of our army, of the "troops of Uncle Ho," troops who are loved and respected by the people. All the cadres and soldiers of the army are sons and daughters of the laboring people and must be united as one. Leadership and command cadres must love soldiers and feel toward them the revolutionary sentiments that comrades feel toward one another. They must respect the dignity of subordinate cadres and soldiers and never be arrogant toward, impede the development of or oppress subordinates. You must take truly stern disciplinary action against leadership and command cadres who commit these mistakes. The soldiers of the army must endeavor to constantly improve themselves and view their life in the service as time spent in school. They must maintain strict discipline, obey orders, cultivate revolutionary ethics and maintain the character of a military man so that the people respect, trust and support them.

I have heard the report on the living conditions of troops. I feel that it is necessary to remind you to concern yourselves even more with the material and spiritual lives of soldiers, especially those who are on the frontline, on the border and the islands, on the battlefield in a friendly country and at remote places in the wilderness. In view of the difficult situation faced by our country today together with concerning yourselves with strengthening our national defense forces, you must also give your attention to organizing troops so that they can successfully perform tasks in productive labor and economic construction and create additional wealth for society, thereby helping to build the economy while also helping to look after the everyday needs of cadres, soldiers and national defense workers and civil servants.

In view of present international circumstances, we must constantly strengthen our strategic alliances with the two countries of Laos and Cambodia, with the

Soviet Union and the community of socialist countries and fulfill our national task and international obligation. The army plays an important role in this regard. Our victory in the cause of liberating the nation as well as our victories in building and defending the fatherland today are the result of our party brandishing the banners of national independence and socialism and combining the strength of the nation with the strength of our times, combining domestic strength with international strength.

The realities of history in recent years show that in the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the militant solidarity and strategic alliance among the peoples and armies of these three countries are an important factor, one that makes it possible for each country and all three countries to win victory. Our national task and international obligation are closely intertwined. By performing our national task, we help to fulfill our international obligation. By fulfilling our international obligation, we help to carry out our national task.

Since winning victory in the resistance against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, the peoples of the three countries of Indochina have continued to advance the cause of revolution, with close ties to the Soviet Union and the community of fraternal socialist countries, thereby bringing about a new and very favorable situation for the revolution and peace in the world and within the region.

Our party has always considered the special friendship and the cooperation in every field with the Soviet Union to be the cornerstone of its foreign policy. The party and people of Vietnam are eternally grateful to the party and people of the Soviet Union for the tremendous support and assistance they have given the Vietnamese revolution throughout the past several decades and continue to give today. We are endeavoring to make the cooperation in every field between our two parties and countries broader and more productive with each passing day.

We heartily welcome and support the CPSU's initiatives of strategic significance concerning Asia-Pacific announced by M.S. Gorbachev in the important address he delivered in Vladivostok.

As a nation that has experienced several decades of war filled with sacrifices and hardships, our people are very desirous of living in peace so that they can focus their efforts on building the country. We have frequently proposed the restoration of normal relations between Vietnam and China and the restoration of the long-standing friendship between the peoples of the two countries. We stand ready to resume negotiations with China at any place, at any time and on any level in order to join together in a search for solutions acceptable to both sides.

At the same time, it must be recognized that the U.S. imperialists and international reactionaries constantly harbor the evil intention of weakening our country in a vain attempt to annex it. Therefore, our armed forces and people must constantly display high vigilance, be ready to thwart each scheme and act of sabotage of the enemy and be ready to effectively deal with each situation. We must be determined to preserve our independence and

sovereignty, to firmly defend the mainland, air space, offshore waters and borders of the fatherland against each expansionist and hegemonist scheme, against every intention to violate our country's independence and sovereignty. While focusing our efforts on our foremost task, namely, building the economy, we must never neglect our national defense task. To successfully perform both strategic tasks set by our party, our national defense task must be an integral part of all policies and plans for building the economy and carrying out cultural development.

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Political Bureau, which trust and feel the warmest of feelings for the Vietnam People's Army, I wish this All-Army Congress of Party Organization Delegates fine success. I wish you and all cadres, soldiers and national defense workers and civil servants robust health and many outstanding achievements. May you join the rest of the party and people in the struggle to complete the tasks of 1986, make positive contributions to insuring the success of the 6th Congress and be ready to carry out the glorious and weighty tasks that lie ahead following the congress.

I thank you.

7809

CSO: 410/5

## COMBATING DEGENERATION AND DEVIATION WITHIN THE CORPS OF CADRES AND PARTY MEMBERS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 9-16, 20

[Article by Binh Phuong]

[Text] I. To restore discipline within the party and the laws of the state in order to successfully complete each task of the revolution, we must combat the degeneration and deviation within the corps of cadres and party members.

In the 45 years that it spent leading the national democratic revolution, our party won great victories, from the August Revolution to the defeat of the French and U.S. imperialists and their reactionary lackeys. These victories were closely tied to major achievements in building the party, in building the corps of cadres and party members.

During the 11 years since 30 April 1975, Vietnam's revolution has entered a new stage. Party membership now stands at 1.8 million, 360 times more than during the period of the August general uprising, 7.5 times more than in 1954 when victory was won over France and 1.2 times more than in 1975 when victory was won over the United States. With this corps, the party has continued to win large victories but has been and is encountering many major difficulties and has committed many serious shortcomings that have reduced the people's confidence in the party. Although we have conducted many campaigns to build the party and combat negative phenomena, they still have not produced the desired results. Corruption in many different forms is widespread in all sectors and on all levels. Discipline within the party and in the laws of the state is weaker than ever before. One very important reason for this is degeneration and deviation on the part of a considerable number of cadres and party members.

It must be realized that the degeneration and deviation within the ranks of cadres and party members not only harm efforts to put into practice the discipline of the party and laws of the state, but also impede the performance of the party's strategic tasks.

This is because corruption is exacerbating our socio-economic difficulties. If, in conjunction with thoroughly implementing the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum, we were to put a stop to degeneration and deviation and make the

corps of cadres and party members determined and steadfast, it would make a major contribution toward stopping goods from slipping through the hands of the state, distribution would be more fair, the life of the laborer would be less difficult and production would develop, thus laying the groundwork for solving socio-economic problems.

This is also because it is only with a corps of cadres and party members who have been evaluated and screened and who firmly adhere to the stand of the working class that political tasks can be performed and the building of the party can be carried out well.

As long as corruption, degeneration and deviation exist within the party and state agencies, slogans are meaningless. Lenin said: "...If such a thing as bribery is possible it is no use talking about politics. Here, we have not even an approach to politics because all measures are left hanging in the air and produce absolutely no results. A law applied in conditions under which bribery is tolerated and widespread can only make things worse. Under such conditions, no politics whatever can be pursued. The fundamental condition for engaging in politics is lacking."(1)

The Political Bureau of our Party Central Committee has also stated: "In the current situation, eradicating corruption in conjunction with eradicating the black market (speculation and trade in contraband) are urgent steps that must be taken in order to stop the loss of materials and goods, insure economic efficiency, restore discipline within the party and in the laws of the state, build the confidence of the masses and make the alliance of workers and farmers stronger." Only when the issue of combating degeneration and deviation is raised in such a correct manner befitting its importance can the various party committee echelons truly provide stronger guidance and take positive measures to strengthen the party and the proletarian dictatorship. Only in this way can we correct the long-standing shortcomings of saying much but doing little, giving light attention to building the party and giving light attention to strengthening the socialist state. Only in this way can we cure the malady of rightism, which is currently widespread.

II. The changes in the corps of cadres and party members over the past 11 years:

Since the entire country shifted to the socialist revolution with its two strategic tasks, considerable changes have occurred in our corps of cadres and party members.

Many party members still retain a positive attitude and steadfastly support the line on the socialist revolution. They include persons who took the lead in the national democratic revolution. Although advanced in years, they still possess revolutionary zeal and want to continue to struggle and contribute. They retain their sense of organization and discipline and want to uphold the principles of the party. They are disturbed by corruption and prolonged stagnation. Many of these persons have retired but are still concerned about the party's revolutionary cause and still try to contribute their efforts and ideas to the common undertaking. They include party members who, although young, were forged in the resistance against the United States, have been

forged in the fight against the expansionists or in the work of building the country or have come from the background of the laboring people or from other classes but have retained their revolutionary will in the face of challenges. They include outstanding cadres and party members who are fighting and working tirelessly and creating progressive models and creative experiences. These persons have maintained their revolutionary qualities, have good relations with the masses and try to perform honest labor, even though the life of their family is somewhat difficult and they themselves suffer losses and are sometimes even misunderstood and are the victims of revenge.

Gratifying is the fact that these active party members still constitute a rather high percentage of party membership. They are found in every unit, sometimes many, sometimes only a few. They are the most loyal and staunch component of the party. They are the base upon which the party relies to launch revolutionary movements of the masses. However, some of these persons have encountered very many difficulties in their struggle against negative phenomena and have grown weary. At a number of places, some persons have been rendered ineffective by leaders who do not support them, are prejudiced toward them, do not utilize them and sometimes treat them with abuse.

Beside the stratum of active party members mentioned above, there is a middle stratum of party members who view the line on the revolution with equal parts of belief and skepticism, who implement the resolutions and policies of the party in a passive manner, who hesitate and take a "wait and see" attitude, who do not dare to struggle for that which is right and who attack the very things they also defend. More often than not, their attitude in the struggle against ugly phenomena within the party and in society is negative and passive. They are rightfully called persons who "keep their mouths shut and take bribes." While not yet reviled by the masses, these persons are not trusted by the masses either. Their awareness of ideals is low. Their concept of class struggle is vague and they lack all sense of vigilance concerning class struggle. They are prone to hesitate and waver when difficulties are encountered and are easily persuaded and provoked by undesirable elements.

Although the size of this stratum varies depending upon whether the party organization is strong or weak, the number of these party members is, generally speaking, quite large and they have helped to create the stagnation that exists within the party.

Lastly, there are degenerate and deviant party members. These persons usually do not agree with the lines and policies of the party and take actions to oppose and undermine these lines and policies in order to further their personal interests. Following the liberation of the South, they found ways to take possession of property seized from the enemy, bought up goods and used the transformation of the bourgeoisie to make money for themselves and accept bribes. In recent years, they have taken advantage of loopholes in policies to engage in all sorts of wrongdoing, from siphoning goods of the state to private merchants and competing in procurements and sales in order to export goods and further their own gains, engaging in dishonest trade and the sale of contraband at home and abroad, turning public property into their own personal property, taking houses that belong to the state, dividing up houses and

property of the state amongst themselves, etc. The increasing spread of degeneration and deviation in many different forms, both brazen and sophisticated, has been closely linked to the increasingly evident rightism and erosion of the discipline of the party and the order of state law.

Although not many in number, these persons are very dangerous because they are found everywhere and are the ones who are causing corruption to spread. Some of them who hold public positions and authority look for ways to "implement" the positions of the party in the manner that best serves them. They impede the implementation of the resolutions of the party and policies of the state. They create factions, are arbitrary and dictatorial and purge persons who are good. Those who are ordinary cadres and personnel also abuse their authority, particularly in those sectors that hold power, that control cadre organizational work and control materials, goods and money. From an objective standpoint, these persons lend support to reactionary powers, to the bourgeoisie and to the spontaneous forces of capitalism. A few have actually been collaborating with reactionary bourgeoisie to oppose and undermine policies of the state and have been serving as lackeys of the enemy. They have flung open doors for relatives, opportunists and other parasites to infiltrate the apparatus of our party and state in order to paralyze these apparatus or serve their own filthy interests. They have caused the masses to lose confidence in the party and state. Objectively, these degenerate and deviant persons have become the indirect allies of the imperialists, expansionists and international reactionaries. They nurture the hope of regaining lost positions. In particular, the expansionists want to use degenerate and deviant elements within the agencies of the party and state as forces sabotaging our society from within. And, hoodlums have suddenly become the direct allies of degenerate and deviant elements.

Although the number of degenerate and deviant persons is small, their influence is not. This influence they wield is rooted in the management system based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies. They are experienced in being evasive, ingratiating themselves with others, finding someone else's faults and provoking others. They carefully study the attitudes of leadership cadres (as well as the needs of their wives and children) in order to buy their favor and protection while dividing and controlling activists. This has led to many cases of corruption, cases which we have uncovered and documented but which cannot be prosecuted or are being prosecuted very slowly because legal agencies are not in agreement due to the fact that some leaders are obstructing their efforts.

The number of party members violating the law has risen very rapidly as the number of crimes against socialist property has climbed. Deserving of attention is the fact that some party committees, boards of directors and trade union executive committees actually operate as a closed organization, conspiring with one another to keep things from the party and state. Many cases of this kind have been brought to light and persons have even been caught red-handed only to have their leaders on the upper level protect them and request that charges be dropped. Leaders at some places have found ways

to prevent the start of legal proceedings in many cases that should be prosecuted, maintaining that only internal review and criticism are needed. For these reasons, the Political Bureau has observed: "Violations of the law, instead of being promptly punished, are spreading."

Clearly, degeneration and deviation have developed on all levels, from the central to the basic levels, and in all sectors, even within a number of party committees, administrations, law enforcement sectors, economic sectors... If this momentum continues, it will be difficult to restore discipline within the party and in the laws of the state. The dictatorship of the proletariat will become increasingly weak. And, our party, with its corps of cadres still not being a carefully selected corps, will find it impossible to display the thoroughly revolutionary character of the working class.

Our party has explained the situation and tasks and laid out the measures that need to be taken on many different occasions but has achieved very limited results. Why is this?

1. Our party was established and has grown within a backward agricultural country. The percentage of party members who come from the background of a manual worker or are themselves a manual worker is very small. The majority of the party's members come from the backgrounds of urban and rural bourgeoisie. A small percentage comes from the backgrounds of other classes which possess revolutionary awareness. This social makeup has its origins in objective history. Throughout the several decades spent leading the national democratic revolution, the Party Central Committee, the Political Bureau and President Ho Chi Minh, through good organizational and ideological work, forged a united and disciplined corps of cadres and party members who made sacrifices and fought for the goals of independence and freedom. Through the many struggles waged against opportunist trends within the party, the party gained much valuable experience, such as: "It is better to have few party members of higher quality than many party members who are passive and confused"(Central Committee communique dated 20 March 1937).

In April 1975, the entire country shifted to the socialist revolution. The tasks of the revolution changed and became: building socialism while defending the socialist fatherland. The objective of the revolution changed. Now, not only do we have the tasks of resisting foreign aggressors and suppressing domestic reactionaries, we must also transform and build the new society, a task which is exceedingly complex, particularly in view of the fact that our country is advancing from what is primarily small-scale production directly to socialism and is only in the initial stage of this period. Cadres and party members must possess not only revolutionary zeal, but also knowledge of many fields, particularly economic management. In addition to enemies bearing arms, we must also be vigilant against the enemy who conceals his true identity and lives next door. The struggle between the two paths is occurring not only in each field of social life, but even within each family, each person. In addition to their revolutionary task, cadres and party members must now also do more to support their families. Many persons have been easily led into doing things that are wrong under the influence of their wife, children or relatives. Today, from an objective standpoint, it is inevitable that the corps of cadres and party members be split along ideological lines:



the majority are building upon their revolutionary tradition, accepting what they are being taught, forging the stand of the working class and retaining their revolutionary character but some, including persons who brought credit to themselves during the period of the national democratic revolution, now waver and are indifferent in the face of the new tasks of the revolution. The steady increase in the number of party members being prosecuted for violations of the law is a manifestation of shortcomings in our management and education of party members. On the other hand, however, it is also an objective reflection of the divisions occurring within the corps of cadres and party members in the whirlwind that is the movement of the socialist revolution.

One of our weaknesses has been the failure to prepare the corps of cadres and party members to meet the demands of the new situation and tasks. We have even been less than vigilant and allowed a number of opportunists to hold positions of authority. These persons then brought other opportunist elements into the party. We have not fully educated party members in order to promptly show them the new problems being raised by the revolution. We have not taken the stand of the working class in re-evaluating and selecting cadres and party members nor have we taken determined steps to expel from the party those persons who impede the advance of the socialist revolution. Appropriate importance has not been attached to bringing into the party outstanding persons whose backgrounds lie in the working class and laboring people, persons who have been challenged and shown themselves to be staunch supporters of the socialist revolution.

There are some who maintain that difficulties with the economy and standard of living and shortcomings in leadership and management are the main causes of the negative phenomena within the corps of party members. We admit that there is a need for stronger and better management of production and distribution-circulation and a need for a suitable cadre policy. These are matters of the utmost importance. However, it must be recognized that the majority of laborers who are encountering difficulties in their everyday lives still find ways to earn an honest living. Conversely, the majority of persons who are degenerate and deviant, while already rich and living comfortable lives, want to live an even better life and become even richer through all sorts of unlawful methods and on the backs of the state and the laboring people.

2. Our enemies, particularly the expansionists and hegemonists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists, are attacking us, particularly the corps of cadres and party members, with an array of forces employing many different tactics. Our beleaguered economy has been encircled and embargoed by enemies. On top of this, the many mistakes in management have exacerbated our difficulties. These are the objective causes.

However, our shortcomings are that we have not shown cadres and party members just how arduous, complex, difficult and long the socialist revolution in our country, and the cause of building and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland, will be and have not fully educated them in the stand of the working class.

In the cause of transforming the old society and building the new society from the bottom on up with the aim of abolishing the exploiting classes, abolishing

the exploitation of man by man, we must not only suppress domestic reactionaries and punish bourgeois elements who refuse to be transformed, but must also oppose the international reactionaries who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists, with other imperialists and the reactionaries within our region who are waging the border war of encroachment and occupation and a wide-ranging war of sabotage in a vain attempt to weaken and eventually annex our country. They have linked up with domestic reactionaries through many different channels and by many different methods. They have a long history of ruling us, of using money, goods, gold and prostitutes to bribe, corrupt and control cadres. In particular, the expansionists have many sophisticated methods of deeply infiltrating us and rising to high positions, of inserting persons into our apparatus. Due to a lack of vigilance on our part and some weaknesses in party security work that have been taken advantage of by the enemy, some of our cadres and party members have fallen into situations in which they were helpless in the face of new tactics of the enemy and have easily been corrupted and fallen by the wayside.

We have failed to realize that, from an objective standpoint, degenerate and deviant party members are also enemies of the socialist revolution. These enemies are, in some respects, more dangerous than the enemies who bear arms against us because they live amongst us and present themselves as revolutionaries in order to attack us from within. Not only do they attack socialist property, they also attack the corps of cadres and party members, paralyzing the dictatorship of the proletariat and tarnishing the prestige of the party. We have failed to recognize the decisive nature of the struggle against corruption within the party and state. As a result, we have done things in a "form for form's sake" rightist fashion.

The difficulties with the economy and difficult living conditions together with the negative phenomena in society have brought nagging thoughts to the mind of the party member: what is the right thing to do and how should I live, should I continue to live an honest but hard life of many shortages or should I do what thieves, speculators and black marketeers do and become rich by dishonest means? This is also an objective reality. A weakness of ours is that the various leadership levels have not truly concerned themselves or sympathized with the difficulties of the party member and have shown themselves to be not much more closely in touch with things than previously. Consequently, we have not taught party members how or created the conditions for them to earn their living and live in a way that is compatible with the character of the party member and with socio-economic conditions. We have not promptly cultivated revolutionary ethics and qualities in light of the new conditions that exist today in order to prevent kinds of thinking and actions that are wrong. We have been lax from the perspective of providing leadership and have allowed many persons to go off in pursuit of money. Many persons of position and authority have used their position to do things that are wrong and have set bad examples. Many other party members consider what would be the stupid or smart thing for them to do, what they stand to gain or lose and follow along behind the movement.

3. The fact that the discipline of the party and laws of the state have long been lax is the direct, subjective cause.

Our party has learned from experience that it must steadfastly adhere to the stand of the working class in its lines and policies, firmly maintain discipline within the party and the laws of the state and combat each mistake and each manifestation of opportunism within the party.

We once made the mistake of being dogmatic and "leftist" in agrarian reform and the restructuring of our organization. The party boldly criticized itself and then rectified this mistake. However, deserving of attention is that after this mistake was corrected in 1956, rightist thinking, laxity and a lack of organization and discipline gradually emerged and became increasingly evident. In particular, since 1975, following the liberation of the South and the reunification of the fatherland and in this initial stage of the period of transition, a stage fraught with complex issues, there has developed the psychology of doubt, of being afraid of making the same mistake we made in agrarian reform, afraid of attacking our internal organization another time. As a result, light attention has been given to the class struggle in society and the struggle against mistakes within the party.

The principles and discipline of the party are not being upheld; therefore, many important matters, instead of being discussed and decided by the collective, are being decided by an individual. The opinions of party members and the masses are not being examined. At many places, the bad habits have developed of leaders considering themselves to be above everything, considering their opinions to always be correct, to be directives, and giving the excuse that they are too busy with important matters to participate in activities within their basic party organization or to allow themselves to be managed by their party chapter.

Many leadership cadres have committed mistakes that were either crime-related but not presented for investigation and examination or were reviewed but dealt with in a lenient manner and not made public. The masses are skeptical of how strict and just the discipline of the party and laws of the state are.

The efforts made to combat degeneration and deviation have not been serious because:

--Some leadership cadres are not strict because they are rightists and shy away from controversy. Many cases stem from leadership cadres themselves doing something that is unethical and crimes-related or a member of their family failing to set a good example, as a result of which they "keep their mouths shut for fear of starting trouble" and ignore what happened.

--Due to bureaucracy, irresponsibility and the failure to maintain close contact with the basic level and conduct thorough inspections, work and cadres are evaluated on the basis of falsified reports that do not reflect the truth, on the basis of words of flattery and adulation, complaints, accusations and proposals made by the masses are ignored and there is even prejudice toward the persons who rightfully inform on others and everyone is warned to watch out for "enemy allegations."

--There are the fear of losing one's apartment, the fear of losing the prestige of being a party member, the fear of everything coming apart.

Because cadres are not evaluated correctly, we fail to see new factors and do not discover cadres who show good prospects so that they can be trained and take someone else's place. Instead, the only persons viewed as trustworthy are those in one's own camp.

--The agencies that have the function of helping party committees and administrations to maintain discipline and enforce the law have not been fulfilling their responsibility. In some cases, there has been a lack of objectivity and thoroughness due to the failure to conduct a detailed investigation and detailed research. In more than a few cases, assistant cadres have acted out of personal motives. They either sympathized with the accused or were forced to "conspire" with the accused. Internal affairs and inspection agencies do not effectively coordinate their efforts, sometimes impede one another and have not achieved a combined strength.

--Party committees do not have a correct appreciation of internal affairs work and do not see that it entails the combined activities of all related sectors so that a unified strength can be achieved with which to help the party committee firmly maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat. As a result, when this dictatorship is the subject of discussion, thought is usually only given to the army, public security forces and so forth, not to presiding over the various entities in order to truly exercise control and provide close, well coordinated and timely leadership.

III. Waging a determined and active struggle against degeneration and deviation in order to restore discipline within the party and the laws of the state.

At present, our party and state are taking many urgent economic measures, beginning in the areas of prices, wages and money, in order to step up production and stabilize the standard of living. This is a very basic approach, one aimed at gradually overcoming negative socio-economic phenomena. The entire party and all our people must be determined to successfully carry out these tasks and put these measures into practice.

At the same time, we must truly bring about strong changes in the struggle against degeneration and deviation, considering this to be an urgent matter of very important significance.

1. We must redefine cadre and party member standards during the stage of the socialist revolution in order to re-evaluate and purify the corps of cadres and party members and provide more intensive education.

President Ho Chi Minh pointed out: "To build socialism, we must first have socialists." In the current stage of the revolution, cadres and party members must be persons who firmly adhere to the stand of the working class and are determined to implement the line of the party. They must meet the following general standards:

--Possess unquestioned loyalty to the party; completely agree with the line on advancing to socialism; defend and implement the resolutions, positions and

policies of the party; and be able to clearly differentiate among ourselves, our friends and our enemies in the stage of the socialist revolution.

--Possess the ability to organize and lead the masses in performing the tasks of the socialist revolution, most importantly the pressing tasks related to the socio-economic situation, organizing cadres and combating degeneration and deviation.

--Possess the ability to make positive contributions to restoring the confidence of the masses in the party, beginning by gaining the people's confidence in the leadership of the party and their enthusiastic participation in the performance of revolutionary tasks.

The above mentioned general standards must be applied to each sector and locality in order to formulate appropriate specific standards. On this basis, it is necessary to re-evaluate the current corps of cadres and party members and insure that this corps truly steadfastly adheres to the stand of the working class. In the process of making this re-evaluation, we will surely find out who degenerate and deviant opportunist elements are in order to expel them from the party. This must be done in a determined, accurate and thorough manner. We must not allow opportunists to create camps to protect one another and lie to the party. Nor should we go about this re-evaluation in a cursory fashion, leaving things undone and failing to distinguish between honest and dishonest, between good and bad.

We must employ violent revolutionary force to suppress counter-revolutionaries. Persons who are degenerate and deviant are, from an objective standpoint, the allies of counter-revolutionaries. We cannot deal with them in a rightist, "form for form's sake" manner. Strict enforcement of the law will have the effect of educating, deterring and suppressing counter-revolutionaries and the other types of dangerous criminals. Of course, we must try to insure that the courts do not conduct trials incorrectly and that persons are unjustly put on trial. An even greater effort must be made to prevent violations of the law from occurring within legal agencies of the state.

The work of re-evaluating and purifying the corps of cadres and party members can only be performed well on the basis of educating party members and the masses in the urgent need for this work so that they actively contribute constructive opinions to the party. Educational efforts must constantly heighten the political awareness on the part of cadres and party members of the situation and tasks of the revolution and cultivate revolutionary ethics and job skills consistent with the new demands of the cause of building and defending the fatherland.

Lenin said: "The purging of the party, which is closely tied to the rising demands within the party concerning a task of a truly communist nature, will improve the apparatus of the state administration and very strongly inspire peasants to completely take the side of the revolutionary proletariat."(2)

2. Can we deal with the problem of degenerate and deviant cadres and party members and how must this be done?

--The decisive factor here is that we must fortify and strengthen the corps of key cadres and strengthen the various party committee echelons, organization agencies and sectors of the dictatorship.

--We must mobilize the masses and listen to what they have to say. It is the assessment of our party that the masses are basically good people. Some of them are bad, but only a very small number. We must welcome the opinions of the masses, discerning persons who boldly express their thoughts and inform the masses of the results of their expressing their opinions. We should have the authority to prosecute under the Code of Criminal Law persons who, acting out of evil motives, commit the crimes of falsely accusing someone else and creating disorder.

--We must uphold the party's principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership and maintain the practice of criticism and self-criticism. Provisions of the law cannot be ignored so that we can deal with things internally as we see fit. No individual leader can be permitted to protect someone or take revenge against someone.

--In dealing with this problem, we must be fair: all persons, even leaders and their relatives, must be viewed as equals in the eyes of party discipline and the laws of the state. The higher a person's position, the more he must set an example. We must practice democracy and listen to opinions from all corners, including the opinions of persons who have committed crimes. We must harshly punish anyone who suppresses criticism by the masses. We must insure that clear conclusions are reached and that the responsibility of one person is not confused with that of another. We must be open and not use the excuses of being afraid of losing prestige or being afraid of being attacked by the enemy to cover things up. Of course, the degree to which the public is informed depends upon each case.

Experience has shown that wherever the party committee and the highest leader are strict and set good examples, everything is dealt with in an appropriate manner and it is very difficult for corruption to emerge and spread.

3. The centralized, unified and thorough leadership of the Party Central Committee, the Party Secretariat and the standing committees of the party committees, particularly the secretaries and permanent members of party committees, is the decisive factor.

Combating corruption and combating degeneration and deviation are jobs that must be performed on a regular basis. However, in the next several years, vigorous efforts must be focused on this work in order to truly bring about positive changes. This work cannot be given light attention nor performed in a perfunctory way.

As regards guidance, in view of the experience gained in many campaigns, it will serve no practical purpose to set up steering committees of a joint nature because we already have party and state agencies whose function it is to perform this task. As regards strengthening the functional sectors, strengthening their cadre staffs, particularly providing them with determined, strict and competent key cadres, is the most decisive factor. Party

committees, most immediately standing committees, must provide centralized, unified and thorough leadership and periodically conduct preliminary and final reviews of work.

We are confident that with the determination of the entire party and through concrete and positive measures, we will triumph over corruption, degeneration and deviation. Let every party member consciously participate in this struggle.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 44, p 218.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Great Initiatives," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 3.

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## EDUCATING THE YOUNG GENERATION IN NATIONAL DEFENSE SO THAT THEY ARE READY TO DEFEND THE FATHERLAND

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[Article by Senior General Le Trong Tan]

[Text] In the cause of defending the socialist fatherland, providing an education in national defense to all the people, especially to the young generation, plays a very important role. It is a basic element in providing a thorough understanding of and carrying out the strategic task of firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

The purpose of providing an education in national defense is to prepare, in a basic and long-range manner encompassing many different fields, our country's young generation to fulfill, under the leadership of the party, its shock role in the tasks of building the people's armed forces and building a complete and modern national defense system of all the people and be ready to defend the fatherland and fulfill international obligations. This work also has the aims of building upon the heroic, unyielding tradition of our nation and forge the young generation into new, socialist young men and women who are the shock force in emulation movements, who successfully complete the two strategic tasks of the party and state as well as major emergency jobs within the locality and establishing the civilized and wholesome socialist way of life. In the present situation, this work also has the direct effect of mobilizing and organizing the young generation to take the lead in the struggle to defeat the enemy's border war of encroachment and occupation and wide-ranging war of sabotage and preparing them to deal with each of the enemy's acts of military escalation.

Providing an education in national defense is also an important part of the current political and ideological work of the organizations of the party and state, of all levels and sectors, from the central level to the localities and basic units.

During the past 10 years and in the years ahead, particularly in the special situation in which our country finds itself today, that is, not being entirely at peace but having to constantly deal with many cunning schemes of the enemy, providing an education in national defense has been and will continue to be a matter of basic and long-range importance as well as urgent and pressing



importance. If the various party committee echelons and responsible agencies concern themselves with guiding national defense educational work and carry out this work in accordance with a specific plan, they will create enormous political and moral strength to be employed in combat and the maintenance of combat readiness within each locality, especially along the northern border, along the seacoast and on the islands, and in the fulfillment of our international obligation. In the recent past, many places have attached importance to providing an education in national defense. As a result, they have mobilized and organized the young generation and gained their active participation in building the position and forces of the national defense system in the province and municipality, in the districts and precincts, in the villages, hamlets and subwards...and have implemented the Military Service Law well.

Some districts, such as Thai Thuy in Thai Binh Province, Hai Hau and Xuan Thuy in Ha Nam Ninh Province, Nghi Loc and Dien Chau in Nghe Tinh Province, Trieu Hai in Binh Tri Thien Province and Dien Ban in Quang Nam-Da Nang Province, have, as a result of providing a good education in national defense, launched movements among youths to eagerly fulfill their military obligation and mobilized young forces to join the people in building a solid defense line within the locality, thereby establishing the deployment of the national defense system and stepping up agricultural and forestry production. Some cooperatives in the coastal region of Thuan Hai Province have combined providing an education in national defense concepts with organizing militia and self-defense forces well, forces that include technically skilled, political qualified youths who form the nucleus of the production sections of the various sectors.

However, in their leadership and guidance, more than a few agencies of the party and state have not attached appropriate attention to national defense educational work. They have not closely tied this work to their other areas of work. They have not adopted long-range and systematic planning and programs for providing an education in general military subjects or providing compulsory military training at schools. They have not developed national defense sport activities nor combined education with the enforcement of the Military Service Law. They have not heightened the vigilance of the people nor mobilized their people to effectively resist the enemies wide-ranging war of sabotage, particularly their acts of economic and ideological sabotage. In the occupational counselling of general school students, students are only counselled about economic work, not about fulfilling their military obligation, joining the army or joining the officers corps. Many places lack dynamic and interesting forms and methods of education suited to youths. As a result, the young generation's consciousness of the national defense task has not been raised. More than a few youths on the local and basic levels are still indifferent, give light attention to national defense, the task of building the people's armed forces and the implementation of the Military Service Law and there are even many negative phenomena that have been allowed to occur.

Teaching patriotism lies at the heart of providing an education in national defense. Only when a person possesses patriotism can he be fully conscious of the needs to save the country, defend the country and build the country. The

patriotism of the Vietnamese is a glorious tradition, one which is part of the flesh and blood of all generations, one which has spanned the several thousand year history of our nation and become an extremely strong motivating force in the fight against foreign aggression.

President Ho Chi Minh summarized the above as follows: "Our people possess ardent patriotism. This is a precious tradition of ours. Since antiquity, whenever the fatherland has been invaded, this spirit has soared and, like a large and powerful wave, has carried us across each danger and difficulty and crushed all traitors and country-robbers."(1)

Therefore, in our country, when we talk about teaching patriotism, teaching the consciousness of saving the country and defending the country, we are first of all talking about teaching the heroic and unyielding tradition of the nation, of preceding generations to the young generation so that they carry on and build upon this tradition on the basis of the new thinking and practice of today, namely, national independence closely tied to socialism. Under modern combat conditions, this heroic and unyielding tradition is expressed in the spirit of steadfastly enduring difficulties and fighting hard and bravely for independence and freedom, for socialism. Under conditions of peace or relative peace, this tradition is expressed in the spirit of actively participating in building the national defense system, building the people's armed forces in every respect, maintaining political security and social order and safety and combating each act of sabotage of the enemy as well as each negative phenomena in society. Every citizen, especially every youth, manifests the spirits mentioned above by being fully conscious of his or her sacred obligation to the fatherland and to the happiness of the people. This also translates into carrying on our forefather's cause of saving and building the country in a worthy manner.

Today, in the face of the new requirements involved in building and defending the socialist fatherland, attention must be given when providing an education in national defense to cultivating in the young generation not only a deep appreciation of the truth "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," but also the ideal of struggling to successfully build and firmly defend the socialist fatherland and the fine virtues and the knowledge that will be needed by the soldier in the future to meet the demands of a war to defend the fatherland. We must give the young generation a clear understanding of the current situation and tasks of the revolution and the cunning schemes and tactics of the enemy. We must instill in the young generation the thinking that every citizen has an obligation to work as well as an obligation to defend the fatherland; that all the people must participate in productive labor and defend the fatherland; that all our armed forces must defend the fatherland and participate in productive labor; and that the entire country, each locality and each basic unit is both a worksite building socialism and a battle position ready to win victory over each enemy, as stated in Resolution 24 of the Political Bureau dated 9 June 1985. When each youth reaches military age and it is time for him to fulfill his military obligation, he must comply with the law in a voluntary and conscious manner, considering this to be his right and noble obligation to the fatherland.

One necessary part of providing an education in national defense today is to provide military occupational counselling to youths. The young generation must clearly recognize the responsibility and honor it has to take admission tests to officer schools to prepare themselves to augment the corps of officers, carry on the cause of preceding generations and build and participate in the command of the People's Army--an army that has a glorious and heroic combat tradition.

Through the various combat organizations, through the activities conducted to build defense lines, build combat fortifications, combat villages, base complexes and the district military fortress and through the combat, combat support and local security maneuvers of national defense-security units, it is necessary to teach youths the consciousness of the new, socialist man of joining militia and self-defense organizations, eagerly participating in military training, becoming the masters of technology and tactics, forging the sense of discipline, being loyal, daring to think, daring to take action and daring to be creative. Each year, youths must participate in the universal military training system and training in the technical trades needed for the national defense system and the economy and improve their physical fitness while they are still at their school, enterprise, cooperative, agency, worksite, state farm or forestry site.

The above mentioned aspects of national defense educational work must be carried out under a unified program and with coordination among the agencies and sectors of the party and state and the mass organizations from the central to the local and basic levels. Specific plans must be adopted for providing a thorough understanding of and promoting the implementation within army units and on all levels of the Youth Union nationwide the joint directive of the Central Steering Committee for National Defense Education and the Central Committee of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union "on improving the education and organization of the young generation so that they are ready to defend the fatherland." The provincial (municipal) military commands, the district (precinct) military commands and the Youth Union organization within the locality must annually adopt a common plan with the aim of implementing the national defense education program.

The Central Steering Committee for People's National Defense Education together with the Central Committee of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union (with assistance, inspection and supervision provided by its subordinate agencies, such as the National Defense, Security and Physical Culture-Sports Committee, the People's National Defense Education Committee and the Army Youth Section) must provide closer guidance of the implementation of the activity plans of the provincial and district levels, the various military regions and the services, branches, academies and schools of the army. Attention must also be given to improving the forms and methods of national defense education so that they are lively, interesting and well suited to the different categories of children and youths. For example, in the case of children who are of kindergarten age, we should arrange for them to hear talks and visit museums and the tomb of President Ho Chi Minh; organize camps and marches to familiarize them with the disciplined and regimented collective life of the soldier; and hold Children's Unit ceremonies that are solemn, interesting and closely associated with the orders of the army. In the case

of youths, we must organize "tradition activities," such as lectures, forums and meetings with heroes; visits to museums and visits to battle scenes and historical ruins associated with certain commanders, generals and national heroes; bringing youths into contact with modern technical weapons and equipment; organizing contests and seminars in military technical subjects; expanding the national defense physical culture-sports movement, etc. Coordination on the part of the Youth Union and the Women's Union with local military agencies in looking after the needs of families who have a son in the army, from the time he first joins the army until he returns home after completing his military service, will have a profound effect upon the national defense consciousness of youths.

Today, good models of national defense education are to be found in practically every locality, province, district, precinct and industrial zone and practically everywhere along the border, along the seacoast and on the islands. We must review the experience of these models and increase their number. At the same time, we must constantly increase the quality and effectiveness of national defense education on the basis of actively improving both the subjects being taught and forms this education takes.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap," [Collected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1986, Volume 6, p 36.

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CSO: 4210/5

## CONCERNING ARMY REAR AREA POLICIES IN THE NEW SITUATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 21-24

[Article by Colonel General Tran Van Quang]

[Text] During the several decades of war, the army rear area policies of our party and state made an important contribution to victory. They encouraged and inspired the cadres and soldiers on the frontlines to engage in spirited emulation in killing the enemy and recording feats of arms and helped to establish and build a solid and strong rear area. Our party and state promulgated and amended army rear area policies during each stage in a manner consistent with developments in the situation and tasks of the revolution during each stage. Under the leadership of the party, the various localities, levels, sectors and mass organizations and the people, displaying a high spirit of responsibility and deep revolutionary affection, implemented these policies with good results. Widespread movements were launched among the people, movements that addressed a broad range of themes and took a wide variety of forms, were launched not only to support the persons who were bearing arms in combat, in the maintenance of combat readiness and their families, but also to support all wounded soldiers, families of war dead and military personnel returning home after fulfilling their military obligation. These were movements that reflected deep affection and a close bond between the armed forces and the people, between the frontlines and the rear area and expressed the high spirit of responsibility and the esteem of our people for the soldiers who willingly gave of their flesh and blood to defend the freedom and independence of the fatherland.

The fine things done in implementing the army rear area policies in each region of the country enhanced our people's noble tradition of fighting the enemy to defend the country.

During the more than 10 years since the total liberation of the South and the reunification of the country, army rear area policies have been further augmented. The state promulgated the Military Service Law with the aims of mobilizing youths and the people to fulfill their responsibility to defend the fatherland, insure social justice and waging a struggle to eradicate negative phenomena. The policies regarding families of military personnel, war invalids and the families of war dead have been implemented in a variety of different ways, such as the "repay the debt of gratitude" movement, the

"assist the children of war dead" movement, the "facing the soldiers on the frontline" movement, the "affection homes" movement... Military personnel returning home upon the completion of their military service have been trained and utilized by many localities and become the central force in productive labor, in the maintenance of security and order at basic units. Some localities have taken many specific measures to mobilize fair contributions by the people in order to build national defense funds, thereby helping to successfully implement army rear area policies. On the basis of their actual conditions and capabilities, many localities, such as Thai Binh, Ha Son Binh, Nghe Tinh, Quang Nam-Da Nang, Dong Thap, Minh Hai and other provinces, have been caring for the lives of policy recipients well by means of many practical measures.

However, in terms of awareness and organizational efforts, not every locality, level or sector has given its full attention to these policies. Some localities are either lax about implementing these policies, are not meeting the new requirements of these policies or have virtually left the job of implementing these policies up to specialized components. Generally speaking, the movement to implement the army rear policies is not uniform. At many places, this movement is not strong or widespread. At a number of other places, the movement has stagnated in some respects. Therefore, fuller and more thorough attention must be given to implementing army rear area policies in every region of the country.

Today, our country remains in a situation in which it is at peace but must contend with the border war of encroachment and occupation and the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. Our people must provide manpower and materiel to defend the country, build a regular and increasingly modern army, build a solid and strong national defense system, make preparations to deal with a large-scale war of aggression, should one be recklessly unleashed by the enemy, and fulfill our international obligation to Laos and Cambodia. At the same time, they must make every effort to build socialism and overcome the difficulties being faced today in order to stabilize the standard of living and bring about changes in every aspect of the socio-economic situation. These two strategic tasks have established a close relationship between the economy and national defense, between the rear area and the frontlines: maintaining combat readiness, fighting to firmly defend the fatherland and fulfilling our international obligation creates favorable conditions for successfully building socialism; the achievements recorded in socialist construction contribute in practical ways to strengthening the national defense system and defending the fatherland.

In the face of the basic and pressing requirements of our two strategic tasks, army rear area policies play an important role. We should not think that these policies are only designed to support the needs to strengthen the national defense system, defend the fatherland and deal with the aftermath of war. Rather, we must also realize that these policies have a direct impact upon the task of building the economy, building the country. And, performing our two tasks of fighting to defend the fatherland and producing is the basis

for implementing army rear area policies well. These policies are an indispensable part of our country's system of socio-economic and national defense policies. They are closely tied to economic policy.

The new circumstances we face today have raised matters to which more attention must be given in organizing the implementation of army rear area policies:

--The implementation of the Military Service Law: each year, hundreds of thousands of youths are mobilized to serve in the army and a corresponding number of cadres and soldiers complete their military service and return to their localities. There are some who maintain that fulfilling one's military obligation is a personal matter. A person joins the army when he reaches military age and returns home upon the completion of his military service without requiring anything from the collective or other persons. This misconception has led to various shortcomings: the preparations of youths for induction into the army is not complete or thorough; while their sons and daughters are serving in the military, families in the rear area are not cared for or helped by local administrations to overcome the difficulties they are encountering in production and everyday life; the localities and sectors lack plans for welcoming and providing jobs to military personnel returning home upon the completion of their tour of duty or do not give them priority in student recruiting, hiring and so forth.

--Having fought and worked in the army for many years, a large number of cadres have now retired or are about to go into retirement. These are persons who have made numerous contributions and who held key positions in the wars fought to liberate and defend the fatherland. They have spent virtually their entire life in combat and been unable to care for their families. Now, their health has declined and they are encountering many difficulties in their everyday lives. The various levels, sectors and localities must take practical measures to assist these cadres, measures that reflect respect and love for them. This is a very important aspect of army rear area policies today. It directly affects our young soldiers.

--War invalids and the families of war dead: in addition to the large number of war invalids and families of war dead remaining from the many previous years of war, the number of these persons continues to rise as a result of the fight being waged against the war of encroachment and occupation along the northern border and as a result of fulfilling our international obligation in the country of our friends. In the hard and bitter fight along the border and on the battlefield of our friends, cadres and soldiers of ours continue to shed their blood and die every hour of every day for the independence and sovereignty of the fatherland, for the sake of a tranquil life for the people and for the sake of our noble international obligation. It is the obligation of all our people to thoroughly implement the policies that apply to soldiers who have shed their blood and the families of war dead. Although our country is now revamping its economic management mechanism, dismantling bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, shifting entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices and implementing the principle of distribution in accordance with labor, we should not confuse those state subsidies that need to be abolished with the subsidy policies and systems of the state that apply

to war invalids and the families of war dead. The fair and timely implementation of these policies will have the effects of encouraging and helping to resolve the difficulties of a rather large component of our current social labor force.

From the matters presented above, there arises the need to correctly coordinate socio-economic policies with national defense policies, including army rear area policies.

The implementation of army rear area policies must be considered by all levels, sectors, mass organizations and localities to be an important and constant part of their work plans. Under the leadership of the local party committee and administration, those agencies whose function is directly related to these policies, such as the war invalids and social welfare agency, the local military agency, the Youth Union, the Women's Union and so forth, must, depending upon their function and task, work closely with one another and implement these policies in a way that is well coordinated. To create better conditions for implementing these policies, forms of organization and measures must be adopted that enable us to mobilize the enormous capabilities of the masses and develop the potentials of localities and sectors. In the process of organizing the implementation of these policies, it is necessary to keep abreast of the situation by closely managing and periodically inspecting basic units. At the same time, we cannot give light attention to any aspect of these policies. In the immediate future, we must conduct a review of the implementation of these policies at all places, draw good experience and correct the shortcomings and mistakes in the implementation of these policies. Having done this, we must insure that the provisions of these policies are implemented better for all policy recipients.

Army rear area policies are an important part of the party's policy on building a solid and strong rear area, strengthening the national defense system and meeting the requirements of building and defending the fatherland. They are major policies of the party and are of profound political significance. They reflect the revolutionary tradition of our people, reflect their ethic of loyalty and reflect the superior nature of the new social system. These policies express the will of all the people with regard to the cause of defending the fatherland. They express the high sense of responsibility and the concern of the party and state, reflect gratitude and respect. At the same time, they reflect the obligation and responsibility of all the people to those persons and families who have made worthy contributions to the cause of the revolution.

Lenin taught: "Each and every measure taken by the rear area to assist the Red army immediately has an impact upon the morale of the Red army... Assistance of every kind provided by the rear area to the soldiers of the Red army immediately increases the strength of the Red army..."(1) "Knowing that the people in the rear are thinking about them gives the soldiers of the Red army high morale and motivates them to win victory."(2) The realities of our country's revolution prove these teachings. Implementing army rear area



policies well is one of the reasons for our success over the past several decades. Today, to meet the new requirements of the tasks of the revolution, our entire party, all our people and all our armed forces must actively implement these policies and achieve the best possible results.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 41, p 395.
2. Ibid., p 428.

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POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL WORK IN SUPPORT OF VICTORY IN THE WAR OF RESISTANCE  
AGAINST FRANCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 25-32

[Article by Hong Chuong in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the national resistance against France]

[Text] Our people's war of resistance against France began and took place against the background of a very lopsided comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy. On the French imperialists' side, they had a thoroughly trained, professional army that had been challenged on the battlefield, was equipped with modern weapons, was led by talented generals, such as Leclerc and D'Latre des Tassigny, and possessed the morale of an army which, together with its allies, had won victory over the forces of Nazi Germany. On our side, following a century of domination, our nation had been disarmed, the army was just being formed, was equipped with only sticks and crude weapons, had no combat experience and so forth. It was truly a case of "a grasshopper fighting an elephant"! Yet, our people fought and won victory over the French imperialists. In view of the fact that we were, from the standpoint of material forces, inferior to France in every respect, which factors helped us to defeat the French if not the moral and ideological factors?

Of course, the factor that determined the victory of our armed forces and people in the resistance against France was our party's correct resistance war line. However, had our armed forces and people failed to clearly understand and correctly implement this line, victory could not have been possible. Political and ideological work propagandized the party's line among the masses and mobilized them to make every effort to implement the party's line. The party's resistance war line permeated the masses and became the material strength that enabled us to win victory over the French imperialists. Political and ideological work, therefore, played an enormous role in insuring our people of victory in the war of resistance against the French imperialists.

In that war, our party attached special importance to political and ideological work because it also attached importance to the human factor in war.

The political and ideological work conducted by our party in the resistance against France can be divided into the following three periods:

1. Political and ideological work in preparation for the national resistance;
2. Political and ideological work during the national resistance;
3. Political and ideological work following victory in the war of resistance (which lasted until the completion of the regrouping in the North and the transfer of forces).(1)

Below is a review of the political and ideological work conducted by our party during those three periods.

Political and ideological work during the period spent preparing for the national resistance:

Following the success of the August Revolution and the seizure of political power nationwide by our people, our party, headed by Uncle Ho, saw the threat of aggression by the French imperialists against our country. Our party made full preparations to deal with a military attack by the French imperialists to reoccupy our country. It appealed to our people to prepare to fight and defeat armed aggression by the French imperialists as the citizens of an independent and sovereign country.

In the Declaration of Independence delivered on 2 September 1945, President Ho solemnly declared to the world: "Vietnam has the right to be free and independent and has truly become a free and independent country. All the Vietnamese are determined to devote the full measure of their spirit and forces, their lives and property to firmly maintain this freedom and independence."

During the days of intense revolutionary spirit in late 1945 and early 1946, the Oath of Independence resounded at meetings attended by large numbers of the masses in all three regions of the country. In particular, after 23 September 1945, when the French started hostilities in Cochin China, the political and ideological work of the party inspired the compatriots of our entire country to display a high spirit of patriotism and resolutely fight the French to the last drop of blood in order to defend our newly won independence.

On 25 November 1945, the Party Central Committee issued the "Resistance War-National Construction" directive, which comprehensively and deeply analyzed the world and domestic situations since the August Revolution and named the French colonialists as the main enemies of our people, as the enemy against whom the thrust of our struggle had to be focused. The directive defined our urgent tasks as "consolidating power, resisting the French colonialist aggressors, eradicating traitors and improving the life of the people." Political and ideological work focused on propagandizing this position of the Party Central Committee.

Panic-stricken over the growth of Vietnam's revolution, the British and U.S. imperialists agreed to give the French imperialists the authority to disarm Japanese forces, that is, agreed to the occupation of South Vietnam by the French army. On 28 February 1946, acting under orders from the United States, General Chiang Kai-shek signed the Franco-China Agreement in Trung Khanh with the French imperialists, thus authorizing the French imperialists to take the place of Chiang's forces in disarming the Japanese in North Vietnam. In early March 1946, the French imperialists sent warships carrying French troops to the North.

To avoid finding ourselves in the disadvantageous situation of being isolated by the enemy and being forced to fight many enemies at once, which would have worn down our real strength, the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee decided to make concessions to France in order to defeat the scheme of the imperialists and reactionaries and preserve our forces while gaining time to prepare for the new fight and eventually win total independence. This was a very wise decision, was an unparalleled example of the tactic of taking advantage of antagonisms within the ranks of the enemy and of making concessions on the basis of principles.

On 6 March 1946, in keeping with the party's decision, President Ho, on behalf of our government, signed with Sainteny, the representative of the French government, the Preliminary Agreement. Under this agreement, the French government recognized the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as a free nation within the French federation, as a nation with its own government, national assembly, army and finance system.

Viewed against the historical background of the times, the signing of the Preliminary Agreement was a correct and creative measure. However, because they did not clearly understand the party's position, some persons had doubts or wavered and panicked. Political and ideological work helped to give cadres, party members and the people a clear understanding of the party's position. Everyone came to see that political and ideological work was the only correct position. It thwarted the plan of the imperialists and reactionaries to collaborate with one another in opposing and attacking Vietnam's revolution. It had the effect of quickly driving Chiang's forces back to China. It helped us to gain time to build our forces and prepare for a long war of resistance. Political and ideological work reminded everyone that while negotiating with France, we not only had to make constant preparations so that we were ready to wage the war of resistance at any point in time and at any place in the country, but also had to make every effort to accelerate these preparations and not allow the negotiations with France to weaken our people's determination to fight.

Through political and ideological work, we explained the party's "advance through concessions" policy to all the masses and waged a struggle against "leftist" and rightist tendencies, against everything that reflected pessimism and hesitation or complacency and the lack of vigilance. Through political and ideological work, we appealed to everyone to make every effort to unite, display high vigilance and actively prepare our forces in every respect in order to wage the war of resistance when necessary.

On 14 September 1946, during an official visit to France at the invitation of the government of the French republic, in order to show the people of France and the people of the world our good will and give us additional time to prepare our forces for the resistance against France, President Ho, on behalf of our government, signed with Moutet, representing the French government, the Modus Vivendi.

However, the French colonialists continuously violated the clauses of the 6 March Preliminary Agreement and the 14 September Modus Vivendi. They constantly engaged in acts of provocation and occupied more and more land of our country. On 5 November 1946, in the face of the acts of provocation and the occupation of our land by the French colonialists, President Ho wrote "The Urgent Tasks of the Moment" directive. He instructed our entire party, all our armed forces and all our people to redouble their efforts to accelerate preparations for the war of resistance in the military, political, economic, diplomatic, transportation and other fields in order to be ready to fight when the French colonialists intentionally started a war. He pointed out that, in order to make good preparations for the resistance, all the people had to unite under the leadership of the party and government.

In this directive, President Ho emphasized: "We must understand and make the people understand that the resistance will be very hard and fraught with suffering." "We must have and must give our people faith and determination. Explain the situation to the masses in simple and clear words. If we do our best to make it through this cold winter, we will greet spring. After emerging from the enemy's ruthless campaign of terror, we will win victory."(1)

"The Urgent Tasks of the Moment" directive of President Ho was an extremely important document that laid the groundwork for the line on the national resistance that followed.

By widely disseminating President Ho's "The Urgent Tasks of the Moment" directive, political and ideological work equipped our cadres, party members and people with the necessary thinking and prepared them to start the national war of resistance on 19 December 1946.

Vietnam's resistance against France began on 23 September 1945. However, up until 19 December 1946, it was a limited war of resistance in which armed combat and negotiations were intermixed and, for a time, our party pursued its "advance through concessions" policy.

The period from 23 September 1945 to 19 December 1946 was the initial period of the resistance against France. It was also the period of preparations for the nationwide war of resistance.

The political and ideological work conducted after the August Revolution, particularly from 23 September 1945 to 19 December 1946 involved preparing the people of our entire country ideologically for the national resistance against the French imperialist aggressors.

Ideological work during the national resistance:

On 19 December 1946, as a result of the reactionary and bellicose policy of the French imperialists, war broke out throughout our country. In his appeal for a national war of resistance, President Ho stated:

"We desire peace and have made concessions. However, the more we have made concessions, the more the French colonialists have taken, because they are determined to steal our country from us once again!"

"No! We would rather sacrifice everything than suffer the loss of our country, than be enslaved."

President Ho appealed:

"The hour for national salvation is at hand. We must sacrifice even our last drop of blood to preserve the country."

In response to President Ho's appeal, political and ideological work generated hatred among our people for the French aggressors and inspired everyone to display high patriotism and arise to fight the French colonialists in order to save the country.

In 1947, General Secretary Truong Chinh wrote "The Resistance Will Surely Be Victorious," which presented the basic line of our people's resistance against France. This work was used as a basic text in the political and theoretical work of our party throughout the war of resistance against France.

Political and ideological work helped our cadres, party members and people to grasp the line, guidelines, strategy and tactics of our party in the resistance.

Political and ideological work provided answers to the questions: whom are we fighting? Why must we fight? What are we fighting to achieve? Can we win victory? How should we fight? What must we do to win victory?

Political and ideological work emphasized the just nature of our resistance against France. At the same time, it made clear the unjust nature of the war being waged by the French aggressors against our country.

Our war of resistance against France was a just war. When a just war is being fought, it is participated in, sympathized with and supported by many persons.

Political and ideological work helped everyone to clearly understand that our resistance was a national war. "Every Vietnamese, men and women, old and young alike, regardless of their religion, political affiliation or ethnic group must arise to fight the French colonialists in order to save the fatherland. Those of you who have rifles, use your rifles; those of you who have swords, use your swords; those of you who have no swords, use spades, hoes or sticks. Everyone must make every effort to resist the French colonialists for national salvation"(President Ho's Appeal). All the people had to participate in the resistance, all the people had to bear the burden of

the resistance in order for victory to be won. Therefore, we had to mobilize all the people, had to organize all the people in the resistance. Only by improving the standard of living and expanding the practice of democracy could we mobilize all the people to devote their efforts to the fight against the French aggressors.

Political and ideological work made everyone clearly understand that our resistance was a full-scale war. We had to fight the enemy on the military, political, economic and cultural fronts.

Political and ideological work helped our armed forces and people to grasp the strategic guideline for our entire war of resistance, namely, waging a protracted fight. We had to do this in order to fight the enemy while preserving our strength, building our forces, training the armed forces and the people and learning to fight while fighting, thereby turning things we lacked into things we possessed, turning weaknesses into strengths in order to win victory over the forces of the enemy. If our armed forces and people united closely, fought with determination, displayed a high spirit of self-reliance and made every effort to build and develop our forces, the long war of resistance would surely result in victory over the French colonialists. The party attached special importance to teaching the people the spirit of self-reliance.

Political and ideological work gave everyone firm confidence that the resistance would surely be victorious. "Even if we have to endure every hardship in the war of resistance, with the determination to make sacrifices, victory will surely be ours"(President Ho's Appeal).

Our political and ideological work made everyone confident that the nation of Vietnam would triumph over the French colonialists because our war of resistance was just, our fellow countrymen possessed broad unity, our officers were brave, our strategy was correct and we had many friends.

Political and ideological work mobilized our entire party, all our armed forces and all our people to struggle to make the resolve of the party and President Ho a reality: "Regardless of how many sacrifices we must make and how long it takes, we will fight to the end, fight until the country of Vietnam is totally independent and reunified."(2)

While propagandizing the party's resistance war line, political and ideological work also criticized various kinds of incorrect thinking which posed an obstacle to the implementation of the party's resistance war line. They were: pessimism, defeatism and contempt for the enemy; only going half-way and then striking a compromise; wanting a third country to settle things...

Culture and literature-art are very good vehicles for thoroughly teaching ideology. In its political and ideological work, the party used culture and literature-art to attack the enemy, defend the country and make the people strong, progressive, confident and happy. Truong Chinh's work "Marxism and Vietnamese Culture" and To Huu's work "Establishing the People's Literature and Art of Vietnam" set forth the line, tasks and guidelines related to

cultural and literary-art work and mobilized cultural and literary-art forces to support the resistance and help to establish the new culture and literature-art in Vietnam. The party encouraged writers and artists to delve deeply into the life of combat and production of our armed forces and people, record heroic deeds, describe progressive persons and inspire everyone to bravely charge forth to kill the enemy, record feats of arms and advance the resistance against France to victory.

On 27 March 1948, the Party Central Committee issued a directive launching a patriotic emulation movement aimed at "quickly bringing the resistance to victory and rapidly bringing the cause of national construction to success." On 1 May 1948, President Ho issued an appeal for patriotic emulation. Political work inspired the people and the armed forces to display high revolutionary zeal, display a high spirit of initiative and creativity and emulate one another in excellently completing each military, political, economic and cultural task. The entire country arose in a spirited emulation movement: the army emulated in killing the enemy and recording feats of arms; workers and peasants emulated in productive labor; and intellectuals emulated in making innovations and inventions. The patriotic emulation movement developed strongly, assuming a wide variety of themes and forms, thus making large contributions to intensifying the national, full-scale war of resistance and amassing forces in order to fight a protracted resistance.

On 14 July 1949, the government promulgated the decree reducing land rents. In political and ideological work, every effort was made to support the reduction of land rents with a view toward improving the standard of living of peasants, who constituted the largest force within the main army of the resistance.

In 1953, the party adopted the agrarian reform policy, thus implementing the slogan "land to the tiller" while the resistance was still underway. President Ho said: "In order to bring the resistance to total victory and truly establish the people's democracy, we must serve the economic and political interests of peasants in practical ways, must distribute cropland to peasants." (3) Political and ideological work mobilized the masses to carry out agrarian reform with the aims of building the strength of the people, particularly peasants, strengthening the alliance of workers and peasants and creating additional factors with which to promote the resistance.

Political and ideological work mobilized our fellow countrymen in the rear to contribute whatever they could, contribute money, materials or manpower, and emulate one another in helping the army to fight the enemy under the slogan "everything for the frontlines, everything for victory."

The party taught cadres, party members and the people the spirit of "being neither arrogant in victory nor discouraged in defeat," of steadfastly waging a protracted war of resistance. It reminded everyone to remember the teaching of President Ho: "As the enemy becomes more desperate, they will also become more reckless and ruthless. As we approach victory, we will encounter many more difficulties and hardships. Therefore, we must never be subjective, never view the enemy with contempt. We must prepare ourselves spiritually and materially in order to overcome each obstacle." (4)



Our people's war of resistance against the French won increasingly large victories and the French colonialists suffered continuous defeats. The U.S. imperialists increasingly intervened in Indochina to thwart Vietnam's revolution and rescue the French colonialists while laying the groundwork for kicking out the French in order to occupy Indochina themselves. In mid-1950, the party, through its political and ideological work, advanced the slogan "resisting the French colonialists and U.S. interventionists, totally liberating Indochina." Through its political and ideological work, the party exposed the cunning scheme and tricks of the U.S. imperialists and explained to the people its new position toward the U.S. imperialists. At the same time, it mobilized the people to wage an active struggle against the U.S. interventionists and take part in the struggle for world peace, the struggle against the plans of the imperialists, headed by the United States, to start new wars. It exposed pro-American and pro-French Vietnamese traitors and mobilized manpower and material to support the resistance and improve the standard of living. We made everyone believe that regardless of what they did, the imperialists would suffer a shameful defeat in Indochina.

Due to the failure to see all the difficulties that arose after the French expanded their zone of occupation, due to a failure to fully appreciate the need to fight a protracted war of resistance and due to a tendency to rely upon favorable international circumstances, unfounded optimism and a desire to strike quickly and quickly conclude the resistance arose among some cadres and party members. Some places, giving light attention to guerrilla warfare, wanted to launch large-scale attacks and win big victories. Other places implemented the general mobilization order in a convenient, mechanical fashion without giving attention to building the strength of the people in order to wage a protracted resistance. Also because they were being subjective, when some cadres and party members saw that the U.S. imperialists were intervening deeply in Indochina and helping the French colonialists to expand their occupation and that our armed forces and people were encountering difficulties, their unfounded optimism became pessimism, negativism and vacillation. Through its political and ideological work, the party promptly overcame these incorrect attitudes. The two articles by General Secretary Truong Chinh published in issues number 1 and 2, July and August 1950, of TAP CHI CONG SAN, the theoretical organ of the party, went a long way toward correcting these ideological deviations.

The party was the leader of the resistance. The cadres and members of the party formed the nucleus of the national resistance. The political and ideological work performed for cadres and party members was of special importance. The party attached importance to teaching Marxist-Leninist theory and teaching its revolutionary line and resistance war line to cadres and party members. In 1947, President Ho wrote "Changing Our Work Methods" with a view toward cultivating the revolutionary zeal, sense of responsibility, ethics and style of cadres and party members. He wrote: "The revolutionary must be an ethical person otherwise he cannot lead the people, regardless of how talented he might be. In 1951, the Party Central Committee decided to launch a party reorganization campaign with the aims of raising the ideological standards of cadres and party members, improving their skills and making the party truly pure, solid and strong so that it was fully capable of leading the national resistance to total victory. The reorganization campaign

and the campaign to study Marxist-Leninist theory within the party gave impetus to the resistance against France being waged by our armed forces and people.

In early 1954, our armed forces opened the strategic front against French forces at Dien Bien Phu. Victory was won in both the first and second phases of attacks by our armed forces on the Dien Bien Phu front. However, because the fighting was continuous, long and bitter and due to mounting resupply problems, rightist, negative thinking developed among some of our cadres and soldiers. In keeping with the 19 April 1954 Political Bureau resolution "Continuing To Gain a Thorough Understanding of the Guideline 'Striking and Advancing Only When Victory Is Assured' in Order To Win Total Victory in the Dien Bien Phu Campaign," a phase of political and ideological work was conducted to wage a determined struggle against rightist, negative thinking and build a high spirit of revolutionary activism and thorough compliance with orders to insure total victory for the Dien Bien Phu campaign. This phase of political activities put an end to rightist, negative thinking, built a strong thoroughly revolutionary spirit and a strong spirit of determination to fight and win and created the conditions for our armed forces to win total victory in the third phase of attacks by annihilating the forces of the enemy at Dien Bien Phu, thus bringing the resistance against France to a victorious conclusion.

The political and ideological work conducted after victory was won in the war of resistance:

Tragically defeated at Dien Bien Phu, the French colonialists were forced to sign the Geneva Agreement and pledge to recognize and respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Our nation had won a large victory but our victory was not yet complete. The North had been liberated and was advancing to socialism but the South remained under the domination of the imperialists and their lackeys. The rearrangement and exchange of troop staging areas in order to move toward peace raised doubts in many minds and some persons fell into pessimism and despair.

In the new stage we had entered, some persons, because they did not realize the full complexity of the situation or fully appreciate the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy, overestimated our forces, disregarded the schemes of the U.S. imperialists and bellicose French and obstinately demanded that we continue fighting to the end, maintaining that if we persisted for just a little while longer, all aggressor forces could be driven from our country. There were also persons who, because they feared hardships and sacrifices, wanted peace at any price.

Through its political and ideological work, the party struggled against "leftist" and rightist thinking. It helped everyone to correctly assess our victories, see the schemes of the U.S. imperialists and French warmongers and see that the decision by the party and President Ho to sign the Geneva Agreement on the basis of recognizing and respecting the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the three countries of Indochina was entirely correct.

Political and ideological work showed everyone that the U.S. imperialists were not only the enemy of the people of the world, but were becoming the primary and immediate enemy of the peoples of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Political and ideological work played a major role in building ideological consensus throughout the party and among the people concerning the new situation and tasks.

The political and ideological work conducted by our party during that period of time not only had the effect of preserving and consolidating the victories won by our armed forces and people in the resistance against France, but also prepared our party, armed forces and people ideologically for the start of the resistance against the United States.

The political and ideological work of our party during the resistance against France recorded major achievements and made worthy contributions to the victory of our people's resistance. These results were achieved because our party creatively applied the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of our country in order to formulate a correct resistance war line. Political and ideological work was based on this line and effectively supported its implementation. Our party learned the laws of revolution and the revolutionary war of Vietnam and applied them correctly. It attached special importance to the human factor in revolution and revolutionary war. As a result, it also attached special importance to political and ideological work in training the Vietnamese and giving them the qualities and skills needed to win victory over the imperialist aggressors in order to save the country.

A wealth of experience lies in the political and ideological work conducted by our party in the resistance against France. By reviewing this experience, we can draw valuable lessons in order to perform better political and ideological work today with the aim of effectively supporting the performance of the two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The war of resistance against France actually did not end until the regrouping and transfer of forces were completed.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap," [Collected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, Volume 4, pp 180-181.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Gui nhan dan Viet nam, nhan dan Phap, nhan dan cac nuoc dong minh"[To the People of Vietnam, the People of France, the People of the Allied Countries], Collected Works, Volume 4, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, p 209.
4. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap,"[Collected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1986, Volume 6, p 343.

5. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap,"[Collected Works], Su That Publishing House,  
Hanoi, 1985, Volume 5, p 270.

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SCIENTIFIC-PRACTICAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIALIST BUSINESS(\*): THE PRINCIPLES OF  
SOCIALIST BUSINESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 33-40, 88

[Article by Le Hong Tiem]

[Text] Business is an economic category that is closely associated with the relations between goods and money within a society in which commodity production is relatively developed.

As most broadly defined, business is the combination of the conditions, methods, forms, measures and so forth that are applied in organizing and managing the economy with the aims of mobilizing, investing and using capital to develop potential human, material and financial resources in the most positive and thorough manner possible, in ways that yield the highest economic efficiency and profits and expand the process of reproduction in the most favorable manner possible.

Large-scale, socialist production is based on public ownership of the means of production. However, it is still commodity production and the relations between goods and money still exist. Therefore, business is still a necessity and must be practiced very well.

Socialist business is an activity of each level, each sector and each basic business unit. In actuality, however, it must be practiced at basic economic units, the places which directly use material resources, labor and capital, the places at which the process of working to create wealth and income for society directly occurs. To insure that socialist business is practiced correctly, attention must be given to adhering to the following several primary principles in the process of providing economic management at production and circulation units:

1. Guaranteeing the Autonomy of Basic Economic Units in Business on the Basis of Increasing the Effectiveness of the Centralized Leadership and Management Provided by the Central State

These are the two aspects of the principle of democratic centralism in management. They insure that basic units are encouraged to display dynamism and creativity while enabling the state to continue to provide centralized and

unified management in areas of primary importance related to the entire economy and the standard of living nationwide.

Because the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies has been maintained far too long, it has caused harm to the economy. After discovering this mistake, a rather strong tendency emerged to abolish all forms of centralism. In practice, however, bureaucratic centralism has been accompanied by decentralization, even on the central level, decentralization from the various sectors to the localities and basic units, which has led to a lack of organization and discipline, to randomly tearing down fences, which have caused chaos and difficulties within the economy. In theory as well as practice, without centralized and unified leadership by the state, it is impossible to avoid decentralized, disorganized, spontaneous and haphazard activities on the part of economic units, impossible to establish organic relationships throughout the process of reproduction and impossible to insure balance in building and refining an economic structure that serves the common interests of all society. This will also cause economic units to lack the bases and conditions needed to establish correct guidelines and targets and, as a result, make it difficult for them to achieve coordination and support one another in intensifying the division of labor and cooperation in order to constantly strengthen the process of specialization, federation and centralization. This principle of centralism and unity is not only diametrically opposed to decentralization and disorganization, but also demands that determined efforts be made to combat bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, truly develop a high degree of voluntary willingness and consciousness on the part of each basic unit and remove all restraints and restrictions that impede flexibility and creativity and cause the attitude of relying upon and waiting for others to act, even cause pessimism and irresponsibility on the part of the basic unit and the laborer.

Maintaining centralism and unity and developing the business autonomy of basic units are principles that reflect, and also demand, the implementation of the mechanism of collective ownership by the laborer on all three levels. On the one hand, this mechanism mandates that the state, on the scope of the entire economy and on behalf of all laborers as the masters of society, directly manages the activities of enterprises through its representative, the enterprise director. On the other hand, within each enterprise, the collective of workers and civil servants, through the enterprise council, the conferences of manual workers and civil servants and the activities of the trade union, exercise true ownership but also empower the director to represent them in exercising this right. As a result, the director has a high responsibility. At the same time, if he clearly understands his function, he is fully capable of organizing and managing business activities and implementing the above mentioned principles in the best manner possible. Practical experience shows that the mode of operation through which economic units can uphold the principles mentioned above is as follows:

Economic units must possess independence in planning and mobilize each manual worker and civil servant of the unit to participate in the formulation of the plan from the basic level upward. Of course, this plan must be based on the guidelines, targets and tasks of the state plan and be guided, evaluated and approved by the agency on the upper level which directly manages the unit.

The plan must also comply with the economic-technical quotas set by the state and insure the completion of the legally binding norms assigned to the unit.

In the fraternal countries, the number of these legally binding norms has been steadily declining and the state has been using indirect methods through leverage policies to encourage enterprises to develop their production in a positive direction. To assist enterprises in taking the initiative in formulating their plans, the management agencies on the level immediately above the enterprise must notify the enterprise of its directed plan figures, establish economic-technical quotas and standards, establish leverage policies and provide the necessary economic-technical information, particularly information on the quantities of materials and services to be supplied to the enterprise, at an early date. On the basis of this information, the enterprise must take the initiative and do everything possible to balance its plan by making use of many different sources and capabilities. Special attention must be given to expanding joint businesses and economic ties, trying to produce exports so that other products can be imported, seeking orders for goods and strengthening the role played by economic contracts in order to insure that the plan is completed. The enterprise can also take it upon itself to set, augment or adjust plans for doing business in products outside legally binding norms but everything done by the enterprise must be reflected in a unified production-technical-financial-social plan.

In business, basic units must strictly comply with state regulations on accounting, statistics and the balancing of accounts. Enterprises are also independent from the standpoint of production cost accounting because they are now responsible for profit and loss. In the case of materials acquired by the enterprise on its own and products whose prices are set by the enterprise, the enterprise must insure, on the basis of the negotiated prices paid for these materials, that these products can be sold at prices which cover all costs, generate a profit and are acceptable to society.

In addition, the enterprise is independent from the standpoint of creating additional sources of self-acquired capital and borrowing capital (in addition to the initial capital allocated by the state and capital in the form of depreciation). This will enable the enterprise to meet its needs better by providing more liquid capital, more capital for investment in medium and small-scale projects and more capital for investing in intensive development, in the upgrading of technical equipment and the coordination of its capacity.

As regards labor, the enterprise has the authority to hire, train and utilize labor in accordance with production requirements and take the initiative in restructuring its organization and staff to insure that each laborer currently working at the enterprise has a suitable job. The enterprise must create the conditions for its laborers to produce continuously and with high productivity. At the same time, the enterprise has the full authority to commend or take disciplinary action against, including firing, each laborer of the enterprise.

On the basis of efficiently organizing its labor, the enterprise has the authority to apply various forms of wages and expand the payment of contract wages and piecework wages without any limits on how much the laborer can earn.

The state, instead of controlling the quantity of labor used as well as the size of the enterprise's wage fund, only uses the wage fund, which is based on the quotas, unit prices and production results of the enterprise, to uphold the principle that the rate of growth of the wage fund must correspond to the rate of growth of labor productivity and the rate of growth of production of the enterprise.

The enterprise is also independent from the standpoint of applying scientific-technical advances and determining technical plans for production and products. As regards organization, the enterprises have the authority to establish all forms of appropriate ties with scientific research agencies and can, when necessary, set up experimental-technical research organizations and trial processing units or form scientific-technical federations. Relatively widespread sources of capital for investing in these kinds of work include capital construction funds, production development funds, loans and capital allocated from the budget for programs in key scientific-technical advances.

## 2. Correctly Applying Commodity-Money Relations

As commodity production units, enterprises must use value in its monetary form to calculate costs and production results and lay the basis for satisfactory economic relations between the state and economic units and among economic units. The application of these relations is generally expressed in the following:

- + Closely combining the material resources plan with the value plan, the production plan with the financial plan.
- + Rechecking the plan to determine how realistic it is and, if necessary, adjusting the plan on the basis of the actual situation on the market.
- + Closely tying efforts to implement the plan to such economic levers as prices, profits, credit, wages, bonuses and so forth, and implementing the procedures of balancing plan related accounts and balancing financial accounts.
- + Widely implementing the economic contract system and promoting the signing of economic contracts among basic business units.
- + Controlling goods and money and distributing and circulating goods well.
- + Assigning price setting authority and putting into practice strict price discipline.

Within the context of an economy that still consists of many different segments, applying these relations is a very complex and difficult matter. However, it is also very necessary and exceedingly important.

The practical experience gained in applying these relations shows that attention must be given to the following several points:



--It is necessary to encourage the enterprise to attach importance to both the use value and the value of goods.

This is generally done through the legally binding norms on the output of primary products and their specifications and quality and on the value of product output realized.

The state and the enterprise as well are usually much more concerned with the value of goods because it has a direct impact upon production costs, prices and profit or loss. However, it is necessary to be concerned with both value and use value, with the output and especially with the quality of products. Enterprises must be compelled to try to maintain and stabilize quality at the highest level permitted by their conditions, especially in the case of exports. At the same time, it is also necessary to encourage the enterprise to always give its attention to improving its products and introduce new products that are consistent with consumer tastes and serve the interests of consumers better. Enterprises that raise the quality of their products above the required standard must be permitted to sell their products at a higher price. If they fail to meet this standard, they must be forced to sell their products at a lower price. In the case of some products of very poor quality, marketing, even production, must be stopped.

--To encourage higher output and lower production costs, it is necessary to commercialize the supplying of materials and permit basic business units to develop raw materials at their source, which includes permitting them to invest in basic production units. Basic business units must be permitted to buy materials and enterprises that complete their plans well can be given priority in the procurement of additional necessary materials. Additional sources of materials for enterprises must be created by enterprises producing exports in order to import materials or by trading with basic units that have raw materials through economic ties, either contract production or the pooling of investment capital. The state must also insure that basic production units receive their materials at the most convenient terminal, by the most direct route and at the lowest possible cost, eliminating all unnecessary intermediary components. Large basic production units can take delivery of materials directly from raw material producers.

--As regards the marketing of the products of state-operated enterprises, products must first be marketed through socialist commerce in exact accordance with signed contracts. Either side that violates a contract must be penalized. If the commerce sector cannot take delivery of its products on time, the enterprise has the authority to sell them to someone else. Determined efforts must be made to stop the practice of basic units that do not have a business function engaging in trade and taking advantage of price differentials as well as the practice of enterprises using raw materials and products under their plan to indiscriminately convert them into other goods. Enterprises must be prohibited from using the products they produce as material bonuses and must be harshly punished for conspiring with and siphoning goods to private merchants. However, in the case of some fresh products that are difficult to store, difficult to transport and are not on the list of products managed exclusively by the state, permission can be given, if deemed more reasonable, to freely circulate these products in

accordance with the price and market management policies of the state. Enterprises should be permitted to open service units to provide instructions in how to use, maintain and repair the products they produce. If all the necessary conditions exist, enterprises should also be permitted to open stores in accordance with the regulations of the state to introduce their new products.

--As regards the setting of prices, the prices of materials and products managed exclusively by the state must be set by the state. In the case of important products whose prices are governed by the price frame of the state or by price standards, the enterprise must formulate its price plan on the basis of this price frame or price standard and defend this plan before the agency that approves their prices. In the case of secondary products which are not exclusively managed by the state, the enterprise may set its price within the price frame established by the local administration or set its price on the basis of accurately calculating production costs, insuring that a profit is earned and helping to stabilize market prices.

--The application of commodity-money relations makes it even more necessary that the business activities of the enterprise be evaluated in terms of money. Because each labor, raw material, supply, energy, transportation and other necessary costs together with all income from the marketing of products, from providing services and from other business activities as well as stockpiles, warehouse inventories, asset depreciation and so forth are calculated in terms of money, money can be used to determine whether the operations of the enterprise are good or bad and to uncover irregularities so that they can be promptly corrected. Consequently, the enterprise must balance its accounts daily, weekly, monthly and quarterly.

--In addition, monetary inspection can also be achieved through the credit system and through the implementation of economic contracts. If used well, the forms of inspection mentioned above will have the effect of encouraging enterprises to make efficient use of their capital and will promote economization and higher business efficiency.

### 3. Combining the Three Economic Interests in a Way That Is Well Balanced and Increasing the Material Accountability of Basic Units

Under socialism, economic interests are manifested in many areas, assume many different forms and are closely interrelated. Within state-operated enterprises, the various interests take the forms of the following three:

--The interests of the state, which are directly expressed in state-operated revenues and other revenue accounts, such as the collection of capital depreciation funds, the profit payments and so forth.

--The interests of the enterprise's collective, which are expressed in that portion of the profits remaining in the funds of the enterprise.

--The interests of the individual laborer, which are expressed in wages, bonuses, welfare items and so forth.

In essence, these three interests are only the three different aspects of a single economic interest because they are only the interests of a laborer exercising collective ownership within the system of public ownership of the means of production as viewed from the three different perspectives of ownership: ownership by all society, ownership within each enterprise and ownership in the work task of the individual.

Consequently, in terms of business principles, when the enterprise develops in a direction that benefits the enterprise, it also benefits society and the individual laborer. However, there are also antagonisms among these three interests due to differences in the level of technical equipment, the division of social labor and the level of organization and management together with differences in the occupational standards of the laborer. Therefore, these interests must be addressed in the correct manner.

On the basis of the requirement of insuring that the common targets of the state plan are met, the enterprise must strictly comply with the regulations and policies of the state in order to expand its production and guarantee its own interests. Conversely, the state has the responsibility of directing and supervising the operations of enterprises, promptly resolving their problems and revising or amending regulations and policies that are no longer suitable.

It is quite apparent that if the enterprise does the best that it can and the state provides it with assistance, the various legally binding norms and many directed norms will be met. In addition, enterprises that take the initiative and develop other sources of support in order to produce many additional products and achieve higher returns from their business will contribute more to the budget and raise their own income. Wages, bonuses and welfare funds will also increase. If the state creates the conditions for basic units to be more independent in the various areas of supply operations and independent financially as well as in the hiring, assignment and utilization of labor, the marketing of products, the application of science and technology and so forth so that they can implement the guideline "covering all costs and earning a profit from income" very well, enterprises will fulfill their obligation to deliver products and turn over profits to the state better and increase the state-operated revenues of the state and the formation of capital for the state. At the same time, by taking the initiative and being creative, making rational and economical use of production factors, turning their capital over quickly, making good use of labor, reducing the size of their indirect staffs and applying technological advances, enterprises will earn much larger profits because they will have to borrow less capital, receive the full wage and bonus funds they are due for completing the plan and reduce their costs or be able to increase their selling prices as a result of producing new products of high quality. These are also basic ways to increase the income of workers and civil servants.

Concerning this matter, some economic units, particularly a few units that produce primary means of production or essential consumer goods, must be temporarily given appropriate subsidies by the state because special conditions make it impossible for them to meet all production costs and earn a profit in order to establish enterprise funds. At the same time, every possible measure must be taken to develop the spirit of self-reliance and

encourage these units to move ahead and uphold the principle of balancing their revenues and expenditures and earning a profit.

Regardless of the situation, there must be full compliance with the following view: "On the one hand, we must endeavor to earn a profit in each aspect of business and during each period of time; on the other hand, profit and loss must be examined from the standpoint of the entire economy and over a long period of time."(1)

To insure that the three interests are properly met, the enterprise must first assume material accountability for maintaining and using the assets assigned to it by the state and assume responsibility for completing its plan, delivering products of the right specifications and quality on time, turning over profits to the state and paying interest in accordance with regulations as well as assume material accountability to the state and other enterprises with which it has economic contract relations. Fair bonuses and strict penalties must apply in all these matters. Only in this way is it possible to strengthen production discipline and financial discipline and make more efficient and economic use of existing supplies, raw materials and capital.

#### 4. Combining Management by Sector with Management by Locality

It is quite apparent that, in practice, there is not one basic economic unit subordinate to a sector that is not located within a given locality and, as a result, does not have certain economic relations with the locality. Conversely, there is not one basic economic sector subordinate to a locality that is not part of one or another sector, is not closely associated with the basic economic units subordinate to the sectors that make up the unified, nationwide economic-technical sectors. As a result, we must implement the principle of correctly combining management by sector with management by locality. The most apparent and basic form of this coordination is the close coordination between the plan of the sector and the plan of the locality. Although the plan of the sector and the plan of the locality are based on different foundations, both have the same objective: performing the common tasks of the state plan. The sector plan is based on the needs related to the types of products of which the sector is in charge of producing while the plan of the locality is based on the comprehensive needs of the locality and the needs to develop and utilize the natural resources, labor and strengths of the locality in a rational manner. This requires that when the sector intends to build an enterprise within a locality, it must discuss this matter with the locality to insure that it is being constructed at the right time, at the right place and is of the correct size and to avoid a situation in which many sectors crowd enterprises in one place.

Conversely, the plan of the locality must encompass the task to be performed by the locality for the enterprises of the sector and efforts to assist the sector's enterprises in terms of production capacity and technology. The sector and the locality have a joint responsibility toward the enterprises of each other. The locality must perform two tasks:

--Take charge of building and directly managing local enterprises under the leadership of the sector;

--Participating in the management of the basic economic units of the sector within the locality as well as supplying raw materials and labor, organizing and coordinating the economic activities within its jurisdiction and inspecting the implementation of party and state policies and regulations by the basic economic units of the sector.

Conversely, the sector also has two tasks that it must complete:

--Directly managing the enterprises subordinate to the sector;

--Providing administrative-economic management of the entire sector (including the enterprises directly subordinate to the locality) in the areas of planning, plans, policies, science-technology and cadre training.

The basic economic units within the locality that are directly subordinate to the sector must, in addition to complying with the decisions of the local administration, contribute a certain percentage of their profits to the locality for use in the construction of public welfare projects to assist the development of the local economy.

The sector and the locality can discuss the establishment of production federations or enable and encourage the basic units subordinate to the sector to establish ties and joint businesses with basic units of the locality in order to make full use of equipment and production capacity, support one another's development and develop the potentials of the locality for the purposes of producing more products and expanding the trade relations among localities. The sector can also hold discussions with localities concerning assigning the enterprises of the locality the specialized task of producing a few product parts in order to bring together many local enterprises and enterprises subordinate to the sector in the production of finished products. This will create a division of labor and cooperation in production nationwide among localities, among basic production units, rapidly optimize the technical standards of products, insure that a larger quantity of products of higher quality is produced and make each enterprise better able to serve the interests of society.

Combining management by sector and management by locality is first and primarily the responsibility of the ministry in charge of the sector and the administrations on the various levels. However, each basic business unit must be fully cognizant of this principle in order to take the initiative in seeking leadership and, at the same time, take the initiative in promoting specialization, a division of labor and cooperation or joint ties among the basic units subordinate to the sector and those subordinate to the locality.

##### 5. Closely Combining the Three Different Types of Measures, Economic, Educational and Administrative, in Management

In the management of the socialist economy, in general, and the management of socialist business, in particular, enterprises and laborers can only be motivated to successfully meet the targets and complete the tasks that have been set by combining the three types of measures mentioned above.

Economic measures are measures whose impact is based upon the correct application of economic laws and the adoption of policies and procedures, especially economic leverage policies to provide incentive to individual laborers and collectives of laborers, with the aim of achieving a higher level of dynamism and creativity on their part in setting and completing the tasks of the business plan and doing so with the lowest possible labor and material costs and the highest possible efficiency. Thus, the first requirement in using economic measures is that correct economic policies be adopted.

To employ economic measures, it is also necessary to clearly define the obligations and rights of basic business units. At the same time, management agencies on the upper level must create every possible favorable condition for basic units to fulfill these obligations and exercise these rights.

The use of economic measures demands that good educational measures be taken so that each laborer first of all knows that socialist business is completely different from capitalist business and then gains an understanding of the specifics and requirements of the economic principles and policies of the state and a clear understanding of his obligations and rights within the apparatus of the enterprise. Socialist business must overcome many difficulties related to organization, management and technology, difficulties which also affect many complex relationships. Therefore, it is even more necessary for socialist business to have persons who possess ideals, revolutionary will, self-consciousness and discipline and who understand their role as collective masters, that is, new, socialist laborers. This cannot be achieved in a few political training classes conducted within a short span of time, rather, it requires a long and constant process of education and training.

Our country is advancing from small-scale production directly to socialism. Many bad habits and remnants of non-proletarian thinking continue to pose major obstacles to socialist construction. These are: the thinking of working for hire; bourgeois business practices; decentralization and disorganization; individualism, localism and conservative, stagnant thinking; and negligence, the lack of discipline, earning a living as one sees fit, embezzlement, the waste of public property... They also include bureaucracy, paternalism, seeking fame and position, looking after one's personal interests, only seeking enjoyment, a careless and sloppy style, preoccupation with day to day routine, arrogance, abuse of one's position and authority...

As a result, it is even more necessary that positive steps be taken to intensify political and ideological education. The education provided must be practical in content, be presented in an interesting form, involve examples drawn from theory and practice and be convincing. In the immediate future, it is necessary to make the laborer aware of his responsibilities and obligations and cultivate within him love for his work and concern for the results of his work so that he then directs his efforts toward the objectives in the struggle to dismantle the style of management based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies while combating liberalism, decentralization, the lack of organization and discipline, operating without calculating revenues and expenditures or only pursuing local interests and acting only on the basis of the profit motive.

In contrast to educational and economic measures, administrative measures are measures that exert an impact through administrative authority in the form of specific, legally binding regulations and decisions of the management agencies on the upper level with which basic units or the laborer must comply. In essence, administrative measures are primarily means for insuring the effectiveness of educational and economic measures because practically everything involved in the use of educational and economic measures is codified in the form of specific and clear mandatory regulations. Moreover, without administrative management, it is impossible to supervise and inspect the implementation of economic and educational measures. Administrative measures must also make good economic sense and be supported by political education in order for them to be correctly understood and implemented in a voluntary and conscious manner. Thus, administrative measures also do not accommodate the style of management characterized by bureaucratic centralism, state subsidies, orders and restraints. Management that is solely administrative causes reliance upon others, a lack of responsibility and failure to give attention to frugality, productivity, quality and economic efficiency at basic units.

In summary, the three types of management measures mentioned above are closely interrelated. Each is the premise of and stimulates the application of the other. Applying only one of these measures exclusively or placing too much emphasis upon another not only make it impossible to avoid mistakes in business, but also cause serious harm to efforts to build and manage the socialist economy. Attention must also be given to the fact that economic measures are the measures of basic, long-range importance. They are paramount and of decisive significance. However, in the immediate future and depending upon the place, time and basic unit, one type of measure or another will emerge as more important and must be considered and applied very correctly.

#### FOOTNOTES

\* See TAP CHI CONG SAN beginning with issue Number 10-1986.

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SCIENTIFIC-PRACTICAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIALIST BUSINESS: CONCERNING SOCIALIST BUSINESS

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[Article by Luu Van Dat]

[Text] Business is an activity conducted by economic entities which are closely associated with commodity production. Business activities cannot emerge within a natural economy in which products are not produced to be sold, to be traded on the market, but only to satisfy internal economic needs, mainly to satisfy the needs of producers themselves. Therefore, business activities were not possible within the primitive commune. Under the system of slave ownership and the feudal system, commodity production emerged, primarily in the form of simple commodity production, and business activities appeared. However, these activities were not universal and were limited to a small scope and scale. With the advent of capitalism, with commodity production having become the universal form of production and on the basis of the division of social labor having been expanded to a national and international scope, business activities became universal in nature and developed strongly. Under socialism, commodity production and business remain but business is socialist business closely associated with socialist commodity production.

Thus, business is an economic category that came into being when there emerged a relationship between goods and money, a concept closely associated with the emergence and development of commodity production. Business activities are conducted in the process of social reproduction, in production-distribution-circulation. But not all production activities are business activities. It is possible to engage in production without doing business. Business is only possible when commodity production exists. However, a business activity must be closely associated with an activity in the production or circulation of commodities. Business is generally understood as trade, which is an activity clearly in the nature of business, but business is not synonymous with trade. The objects of business are products produced for sale and the services and service business, which are assuming an increasingly important position in business activity, particularly within the developed countries.

Capitalist business is controlled by the fundamental economic law of capitalism and the laws of commodity production. The most important thing to



the capitalist businessman is not use value, but value (goods). Therefore, in commodity production, business must comply with the law of value and the law of supply and demand in order to be profitable and increase the turnover of capital through the science and art of business. Business income is the objective and the moving force in capitalist business (the formula T-H-T' can be used to reflect the movement of capitalist business activity).

While fundamentally different from capitalist business, socialist business does share certain similarities with capitalist business.

Like capitalist business, socialist business is conducted within the fields of production-circulation and the services. The objects of business are goods and services. The objective of business is returns. On the other hand, there are no differences between these two modes of business in terms of the science and art of business. Viewed from this perspective, socialist business is the successor to capitalist business.

However, socialist business does differ from capitalist business in terms of its nature, objectives and methods. These differences stem from the mode of production, the economic system and the fundamental economic law of socialism.

The capitalist businessman has no other objective than to realize surplus value. The returns from capitalist business are expressed in the amount of surplus value realized (which, in turn, is expressed in profits). The capitalist businessman's sole purpose is to realize much surplus value, the more, the better, even if the things in which he does business are harmful to society (the drug business, the arms business and so forth) and his business practices are denounced by society (speculation, competing to wipe one another out and so forth).

Socialist business, on the micro scale as well as the macro scale, must first have the aims of developing production, stimulating circulation and supporting the standard of living of the people, thereby helping to meet the requirements of the fundamental economic law of socialism. These are the social returns that must be achieved in business.

Of course, to achieve these objectives, socialist business must be profitable business and not be viewed as synonymous with business at any price. Every socialist business unit must earn a profit, except in special cases in which business is subsidized by the state. Under the socialist system, the more profitable business is, the better able we are to amass and centralize capital, to carry out the formation of capital for socialism. This demands that socialist business units achieve both socio-economic returns and business returns (these are not mutually exclusive returns--the interests of society and the interests of the business unit must be combined in a close and well balanced manner, the macro must be closely tied to the micro) on the basis of raising labor productivity, reducing production costs, cutting circulation costs and expanding the scale of business.

Under the socialist system, competition of the kind practiced under capitalism does not exist. However, socialist business units must practice socialist emulation, a form of "competition" under the socialist system, with the aim of

achieving high productivity, quality and efficiency. Combined with satisfying the various types of interests, emulation is the most important force in socialist business. However, under socialism, any business unit that does not achieve returns must be restructured and reorganized, even disbanded, if deemed necessary.

Socialist business demands a special management method--economic accounting.

Economic accounting is an economic category of socialism, is a management method that combines planning with the use of commodity-money relations under the control of the economic laws of socialism and the laws of commodity-money relations. Calculations and comparisons are made in monetary form with the aim of making rational use of labor, capital, materials and equipment and achieving the highest possible efficiency.

Planning lies at the center of socialist economic management and the management of the socialist enterprise. Therefore, economic accounting must use planning as its primary tool and efficiency as the standard by which business activities are evaluated.

Socialist business and economic accounting are closely interrelated. There can be no socialist business without fully practicing economic accounting. However, socialist business and economic accounting are not synonymous because they are two separate and distinct concepts.

Of foremost importance in practicing economic accounting and socialist business is the need to have a stable currency by which value is measured and a system of relatively stable prices.

If the currency is unstable and raw material prices and business costs are constantly rising, the businessman does not know at which price to sell his product to insure the quick turnover of his capital.

When there is a serious imbalance in the relationship between goods and money and a wide gap between supply and demand and production cannot be rapidly increased, it is essential that overseas economic relations be used to create a material force, create a minimum supply of goods to support the stabilizing of prices, wages and money.

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SCIENTIFIC-PRACTICAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIALIST BUSINESS: THE NATURE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOCIALIST BUSINESS MECHANISM IN THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 43-46

[Article by Chu Van Lam]

[Text] I. The Nature of the Business Mechanism

The business mechanism embodies all the activities of man in his economic life within the context of commodity production (and circulation). However, to understand the nature of the business mechanism of each socio-economic form, it is necessary to define the position of this category within the entire system of political-economic categories.

By analyzing the reciprocal impact among the different kinds of capital competing within a sector and between one sector and another, the movement of capital, the formation of market values and production prices and the distribution and redistribution of profits among capitalists (and landowners as well), K. Marx showed us that the reciprocal impact among business entities, that is, among capitalists, are economic relations that move in an objective manner on the surface of social life, are the external layer of the system of production relations. On the other hand, business entities apply these relations wherever possible in pursuit of their objective, earning maximum profits. It is this aspect which characterizes the business mechanism of capitalists within capitalist society.

Thus, when examining the business mechanism as a practical social category, it is the mechanism or mode of business of the economic activists within a given society. Thus, the concept "business" is actually an abbreviation.

The socialist economy is based on public ownership of the means of production. Therefore, the socialist mode of business must, above everything else, be implemented on a unified, society-wide basis. This is why, when discussing socialist business, V.I. Lenin always associated it with society-wide activities of the state. According to him, it is necessary to turn the entire state business mechanism into a single, large apparatus, into an economic mechanism through which hundreds of millions of persons are guided by a single plan.

Thus, the mechanism (or mode) of socialist business can be understood as the totality of the forms and measures employed to organize and guide the national economy in a planned manner on the basis of applying economic laws, with attention given to specific historic conditions.

How is socialist business affected by the system of economic laws? Economic laws affect the objective, mode and returns of business, depending upon the position of each law within the system of economic laws. The fundamental economic law determines the objective of business. The law of planned development determines the mode of business. The law of achieving higher labor productivity, the law of value and the law of economizing on work time determine business returns. Of course, the essence here is which law exerts primary control. For example, whereas the law of value determined the mode of the capitalist business mechanism in commodity production preceding socialism, under socialism, this role belongs to the law of planned development. This does not mean that the law of value does not influence the movement of the socialist business mechanism (the clearest example of the fact that it does exert an influence is the self-regulating role of the basic units of the production system--the commodity production units). However, it would be a dangerous mistake to allow the law of value to spontaneously adjust the proportions of the relationships within the national economy.

Specific historic conditions do not change the socio-economic nature of the economic mechanism but do exert strong influence upon specific economic forms and methods during each stage. These conditions can be divided into two types: 1) the special characteristics of each major stage in the process of building and perfecting socialism; 2) the specific historical characteristics of each country.

Under our country's current conditions, specific historical characteristics exert the greatest influence upon the process of establishing the socialist business mechanism, these characteristics being that our country is in the period of making the transition directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. Under these circumstances, the business mechanism is marked by several very unique features, features which must be clarified in the process of bringing about this change.

## II. The Special Characteristics of the Business Mechanism in the Period of Transition in Our Country

As mentioned above, the business mechanism reflects the objective economic relations of an economic system. Therefore, to define the features of the economic mechanism in each stage of history, it is necessary to analyze the structure of the economy in each of these stages.

An economic structure that consists of many different segments is the overriding characteristic in the period of transition to socialism. In our country, as stated in party documents, five different economic segments still exist. The socialist segment, mainly the state-operated sector, controls the key positions within the economy. However, because our country is making the transition to socialism from a system of production that is mainly small scale, is bypassing the stage of capitalist development and has experienced

many years of war, the state-operated economic sector is still small, its technology is backward and it has little management experience. Production forces also have not developed among the non-socialist segments of the economy. The joint public-private segment makes up only an insignificant portion of the economy. The capitalist segment of the economy now consists almost entirely of small employers. Small-scale commodity production has not developed and subsistent production is still entrenched and widespread. The natural economy (the patriarchal system) still controls millions of persons in the mountains.

Due to the fact that the economy consists of many different segments, the business mechanism during the period of transition is characterized by the following major features:

1. The production relations that exist during the period of transition can be grouped in two systems: the system of socialist production relations based on public ownership and the system of non-socialist production relations based on private ownership of the means of production. Although they have reciprocal relations and are governed by a number of common and universal laws, these two systems also differ in nature and mode and are under the impact of different special laws. As a result, during the period of transition, the basis exists for the emergence and development of two economic mechanisms--and, as a result, two modes of business--socialist and non-socialist. Viewed against the background of the fact that the production forces of the capitalist segment as well as the segment of small-scale producers have yet to display their full potential for development, the establishment of the non-socialist business mechanism creates, from an objective standpoint, broad capabilities for developing production. In other words, during the period of transition, a choice can be made between two options, between two mechanisms for the development of production forces. It is here that the subjective, dynamic role of the socialist state is manifested. The socialist state must take the initiative and select economic forms and measures that uphold the principles of socialist business and struggle against things that are alien to these principles.

The above also shows that the highest standard in establishing the socialist business mechanism is to stimulate the development of production. This, however, is not the only objective in the period of transition. In addition to developing production, economic forms and measures must, at the same time, strengthen and expand socialist production relations.

2. During the period of transition, even in the initial stage, there also emerges objective capabilities for the socialist business mechanism to play the role of guiding development. This is because the socialist segments of the economy, most importantly the state-operated economic sector, control the key positions within the economy. This gives the principles of socialist business the dominant role within the economic mechanism during the period of transition, the role of regulating the movement of the entire national economy. Of course, the extent of this regulation is not the same in each stage of the period of transition. However, in any case, the objective bases exist for the Leninist principles of socialist business to exert their impact and the proletarian dictatorship state must take the initiative and

consciously apply and concretize these principles under the conditions of its country during each stage. This insures that the economy develops with high results when it still consists of many different segments and guarantees the interests of the working class and laboring people. These principles were advanced by Lenin in the process of leading the young Soviet economy and refined in the process of building socialism in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They are also the principles that must be thoroughly implemented in the current process of revamping the economic management mechanism in these countries. Paramount among these principles are: democratic centralism; giving priority to politics over the economy; combining the plan with the application of commodity-money relations; and satisfying the various economic interests.

3. Although socialist production relations occupy the dominant position within the totality of production relations in the period of transition, they have yet to reach their full level of development. On the other hand, there is still a need for measures and policies aimed at mobilizing the production capacity of the non-socialist segments of the economy. For these two reasons, the business mechanism during the period of transition must include special forms and measures. In other words, from the standpoint of socio-economic forms, which include non-socialist factors, the structure of the business mechanism during this period is complex. The forms and measures of socialist business not only have a direct impact upon the socialist segments of the economy, but also exert an indirect impact upon the non-socialist segments. On the other hand, even within the mode of business practiced in the socialist segments of the economy, it is also necessary to make use of economic forms and measures that are not entirely consistent with the social nature of these segments. For example, some state-operated enterprises can and must be permitted to practice commercial accounting in their economic activities (especially in their relations with the other economic segments). This is also what the Soviet Union did in the formation of its business mechanism during the period of transition (in 1923, the Soviet state wrote the law "On the Implementation of Commercial Accounting by State-operated Enterprises"). The product contracts now being employed in agriculture in our country are also an example of using these economic forms when they are considered an effective way to combine the socialist economy with the household economy.

Here, it is necessary to avoid two incorrect tendencies. One is the tendency to maintain that transitional economic forms, because they are not socialist, should only be employed on a temporary and very limited basis and should best not be used at all because they always give rise to negative phenomena. The other is the tendency to look for every way to prove that these are true measures of socialism and not take necessary measures to curb the negative phenomena caused by them. Both of these tendencies fail to fully take into consideration the complex, difficult and long nature of the period of transition, particularly in the case of a country that is advancing to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development.

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SCIENTIFIC-PRACTICAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIALIST BUSINESS: SOCIALIST BUSINESS AND  
APPLYING THE LAW OF VALUE IN BUSINESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 47-51

[Article by Nguyen Dang Khanh]

[Text] 1. Business is the economic category that denotes the activities conducted by business entities with the aim of achieving high economic returns. These entities include production enterprises and enterprises which circulate goods and circulate money, include the economic sectors and the economic ministries. They do not include mass organizations, political organizations or legal organizations.

Socialist business is a concept that encompasses economic accounting. Economic accounting is nothing more than a method of managing socialist enterprises based on applying the law of value. Socialist business encompasses all activities of economic entities, from A to Z, the basic components of which are economic accounting and the plan. Socialist business demands that the plan and economic accounting be closely combined. A plan that is not combined with economic accounting is a subsidized plan. Economic accounting that is not combined with the plan becomes commercial accounting. When the plan and economic accounting are not combined, business is no longer socialist business, rather, it is subsidized or capitalist business. This combination makes socialist business essentially different from capitalist business. (Of course, there are also differences in objectives, the nature of economic returns, etc.). Socialist business also involves selecting, on the basis of the plan being formulated in a manner consistent with tasks and the capabilities for performing these tasks, the optimum strategy and organizing operations in accordance with this optimum strategy with the aim of achieving the highest possible socio-economic returns.

2. The economic returns of socialist business.

The immediate economic objective of socialist business is economic returns. Economic returns are defined by the benefits to the economy and society from the activities of business entities. The issue today is the economic returns in the business of enterprises. When analyzing the economic returns of enterprises, it is necessary to observe the following scientific methodology: analyzing distribution relations and management relations from the perspective

of their interaction with ownership relations, which are basic relations of decisive significance. Each tendency to separate distribution relations and management relations from ownership relations in this analysis will lead us far astray from Marxism-Leninism and cause harm in practice.

The socialist enterprise is a component of the socialist national economy. Unlike the capitalist enterprise, it is not privately owned. Therefore, the socialist enterprise does not have separate interests of its own as the capitalist enterprise does. The interests of the socialist enterprise depend upon common interests and the contributions made by the enterprise as part of these common interests. The larger the contribution made by the enterprise is, the better the common interests of society are served and, with this, the interests of each enterprise gradually increase. Competition--the product of private ownership--does not exist in socialist society. Competition among enterprises does not serve the interests of society. Competition can, however, serve the interests of an individual enterprise by "seizing" a small or large portion of the interests of another enterprise. Viewed from the perspective of such a methodology, it is clear that economic returns in the business of the socialist enterprise must be examined in relationship to the responsibility assigned to the enterprise by society and the material and non-material conditions provided by the state to the enterprise in order to fulfill this responsibility. Economic returns must be analyzed from the standpoint of both the use value and the value of the products produced. The minimum standards of economic returns in the business of the socialist enterprise are:

--The extent to which the needs of society are met with regard to the quantity, quality and variety of products;

--The amount of capital formed through the surplus labor of the enterprise, which takes the forms of enterprise profits and the state-operated revenues contributed for inclusion in the budget;

--The impact of the enterprise upon the development of related enterprises and the stability of the national economy.

Giving light attention to one of these three standards leads the enterprise away from the path of socialist business. These standards must be reflected in state plan norms and even in business policies and regulations. There is currently the one-sided view that the business returns of the enterprise only include profits and, therefore, that the state should only assign a single norm to the enterprise: a profit norm. The only contribution the enterprise should make is "taxes." This view ignores ownership relations and considers the socialist enterprise to be the same as a capitalist enterprise. It is a view that strays from the path of socialist business and will cause negative consequences for the national economy and society.

Enterprise profits are the immediate interest of the enterprise. In their true sense, profits are the monetary expression of the surplus labor created the enterprise's workers for society and returned to the enterprise by society in proportion to the contribution made by the enterprise. Profits are a part (not the sum) of enterprise economic interests. The so called "profits" being



earned by some enterprises by falsifying production cost factors or selling goods at prices they call "prices acceptable to the social market" are not enterprise returns in their true sense. They are the results of taking income away from the consumer, from the state and even taking returns away from associated enterprises. Because the current profit mechanism does not insure the establishment of a correct relationship between enterprise profits and the common interests of society, many enterprises have "exploded" and assumed broader "business autonomy" in the manner characterized by "engaging in commerce to profit through the price differential." The profit mechanism must be revised so that it correctly reflects enterprise economic returns in accordance with the law: the higher the enterprise's economic returns are, the larger are the profits of the enterprise.

3. Some matters with regard to applying the law of value in socialist business.

The socialist economy is still a commodity economy. Therefore, in socialist business, it is a matter of necessity that we apply the law of value. At present, a "movement" is under way in which everyone is talking about applying this law or that law! It is true that man is capable of recognizing and applying laws, but the question is: by whom are these laws being applied? Everyone knows that economic laws are the essential relationships among economic phenomena. Therefore, the movement of these laws is movement by society. To apply laws, it is first of all necessary to know these laws, that is, know the essence of these phenomena. The application of laws also creates the conditions for guiding the movement of economic laws in the direction of the targets that have been selected, that is, for taking the initiative in charting the course of the movement of laws. Correct movement is seen when the course we have charted is a course which, if not consciously charted by us, laws themselves take in their movement. On the basis of this logic, it is clear that when we talk about who applies the law of value in business, we are talking about society, the representative of which, under socialism, is the central state. There is the view that competition is a necessary prerequisite to the application of the law of value and that the words we speak are empty when we do not recognize competition. It must be remembered that competition is not an integral part of a law of value. In commodity production based on private ownership, price competition is not the form of expression of the law of value, rather, it is the law of value which controls competition. Competition causes man to lose the ability to consciously apply the law of value. The realities of our country over the past several years prove this. Some persons say: applying the law of value means raising and lowering the prices of state goods as prices rise and fall on the "free" market. This is not applying the law of value, but being controlled by the law of value and blindly following the moves of the law of value on the "free" market. Applying the law of value in socialist business is not only or primarily a matter of establishing the price mechanism and price levels solely with a view toward making it possible to procure and sell goods. This view reflects a less than full appreciation of the law of value and treats it as an economic law of trade, not as the law that governs all four elements of the social production process.

The central factor in applying the law of value is that enterprises must reduce, steadily reduce, their separate value compared to social value so that social value is gradually reduced. At present, the production sectors in our country do not know the average costs or the progressive average costs of their sectors. The separate production costs of each enterprise are currently the only standard of measurement that the enterprise has. Our country is in the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production. There are still many economic segments, many economic organizations participating in commodity production. This production must be reorganized into a system of economic-technical standards, thus making it possible to calculate the average production costs of the sector and to know what a suitable relationship between the production cost of the sector and the requirements of society is. On this basis, it will be possible to determine where investments can be made to turn the sector's costs into social costs and constantly reduce social costs. This must begin with planning the redistribution of production among the various economic segments and organizations, from reorganizing and redistributing the factors of the production process to organizing product marketing (both domestic marketing and exports). Thus, reorganizing production and marketing is the prerequisite to controlling the essence of these laws and is, therefore, the decisive element in applying these laws. Reorganizing production in a manner closely tied to organizing the marketing of products makes it possible to achieve an optimum state of balance in the relationship between supply and demand, from the standpoint of both use value and value. It provides a solid foundation for the circulation of goods and money and is the basic prerequisite to correctly setting prices.

The "burning" issue in applying the law of value in socialist business within our country today is the price mechanism.

It must be remembered that the law of value does not directly lead to one price mechanism or another. The price mechanism belongs to the category of applying laws.

In our country today, there are, from the standpoint of production relations, still two markets: the socialist market and the non-socialist market (these should not be called the organized market and the "free" market because these two concepts do not reflect the fundamental elements of these two markets). In these two markets, the law of value differs in terms of what this law entails and the mode through which it exerts its impact. The struggle between these two markets demands that the price mechanism of the socialist market reflect the requirements of the economic laws of socialism and be sufficiently flexible and responsive to enable the law of value to be applied in the best possible manner.

At present, we have yet to reach complete agreement concerning a two price or one price mechanism (in my opinion, it should be called a policy). Prices are a tool of trade and are also used as a tool to redistribute income among the various strata of the population. If foremost importance is attached to the distribution function, a two price policy should be applied: one price corresponding to the wages of manual workers and civil servants and the income of the laborer--this price must guarantee that the enterprise meets its

production costs and earns a profit and thus make continued "subsidization" unnecessary--and a second price that takes supply and demand on the market into full consideration. Under this two price policy, it is necessary to strengthen the organization and management of the commerce sector to limit negative phenomena within the sector to the maximum degree possible. In our country today, a two price policy can solve many socio-economic problems. Therefore, in accordance with a conclusion reached by the Political Bureau and a decision issued by the Council of Ministers, two prices are permitted to exist for some materials: cement: steel bars, gasoline, coal and from one to six other consumer goods, such as rice, meat, etc. However, if we can solve the problems in the relationship between the state and the laborer by means of other forms of distribution, a two price policy is totally unnecessary. The action taken by the Political Bureau and Council of Ministers permitting localities, depending upon their conditions, to apply a two price or one price policy grants local leaders the manager's right to make choices.

The price mechanism is conscious management of the market through supply and demand. Under socialism, supply and demand are also planned. Therefore, when establishing the price mechanism, the relationship between supply and demand, the ability to plan and the level of planning must be taken into consideration. Within the economy, there are basic economic relations and economic relations that are not basic, basic needs and needs that are not basic. In the case of basic economic relations and basic needs, the state must plan these relations and needs and make efforts to insure that it possesses the necessary planning skills. For this type of economic relations and needs, stable prices are a necessity and every measure available to the proletarian dictatorship (the basic ones being, of course, economic measures) must be taken to guarantee stable prices. Guaranteeing stability does not equate to state subsidies and bureaucratic centralism, rather, it is a demand of society upon the proletarian dictatorship state. The lack of price stability in these basic relations in recent years has caused a decline in the real income of laborers who live on their wages. In the case of the second type of economic relations, that is, those which are not basic and which the state is unable to plan, a flexible price mechanism should be applied. This flexible price management entails not only local administrations but also the state stabilizing the price scale and the state permitting localities to exercise flexibility within this price scale. When necessary, the state can change the price scale and broaden the authority of local administrations as well as business organizations. The price mechanism which permits the effective application of the law of value in socialist business today is the two price mechanism: a stable price and a flexible price (regardless of whether or not prices under this policy correspond to wages). Stable prices--in basic economic relations--correctly reflect changes in production costs as science and technology are applied in production, correctly reflect socio-economic relations and remain stable for a long period, for the length of a planning period. Flexible prices correctly reflect supply and demand on the market. These prices must remain stable for a short period of time corresponding to changes in supply and demand. Price stability is the prerequisite to socialist business--business that is based on the plan and economic accounting--and the prerequisite to prices playing the role of guiding production and life. Continuous changes in prices cause the loss of direction in production and life and lead society from one chaotic situation

to another. However, rigid stability that lasts for too long a period nullifies, in practical terms, the impact of the law of value in all fields and relations within the national economy and leads to stagnation in production and life. The state of our country's economy in the recent past proves this fully. The difficulty here is that we must know where and when stability and flexibility are required. This is not part of the mechanism, it is the art of the price manager, the state.

It must also be said that there are some needs which the state cannot plan and which lie outside the scope of the plan because they are associated with microeconomic factors, with the details of life. These needs must be self-regulated through the market. This is a necessity, not a weakness on the part of business agencies or the state. The state should only intervene in this self-regulation when its negative aspects become apparent.

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SCIENTIFIC-PRACTICAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIALIST BUSINESS: SOME MATTERS  
CONCERNING BUSINESS AND THE SOCIALIST BUSINESS MECHANISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 52-54, 51

[Article by Nguyen Anh Bac]

[Text] Business is the mode by which economic activities within a commodity economy are conducted through commodity trade relations with the aim of achieving a maximum rate of profit with minimum costs in terms of the interests of business entities. The essence of business is the essence of the commodity economy. The laws that control each business activity are the system of laws of this economy, within which the common laws of a commodity economy, such as the law of value, the law of supply and demand, the law of the circulation of money..., are the laws that have a direct impact upon day to day business.

The socialist economy is still a commodity economy. Commodity-money relations are an aspect of socialist production relations (socialist economic activities still must be conducted through these relations to achieve the objectives of production and consolidate production relations). Therefore, business is still the mode through which economic activities are conducted within the socialist economy. However, socialist business is essentially different from capitalist business in the following number of basic areas:

1. Profit: profit is the immediate objective of business, profits reflect business efficiency. Within the capitalist economy, profit to the individual capitalist is everything, is his motive and raison d'etre. Achieving a high rate of profit at the lowest possible cost and by any method is the highest requirement in each capitalist business activity.

The fundamental economic law of socialism establishes the objective of socialist production as satisfying the material and cultural needs of all society better with each passing day. The socialist enterprise is a basic economic unit of the socialist national economy. It is given the authority by society to utilize a portion of society's means of production to carry out efficient production with the aim of displaying the superior nature of socialist public ownership of the means of production. The business income of the individual enterprise cannot be raised at the expense of harming the interests of society, of other enterprises. The path to very high enterprise

profits lies not in taking profits from one another by competing in procurements and sales or taking advantage of the price differential but in promoting socialist emulation, boldly applying scientific and technical advances, building upon the strengths of the new production relations, raising labor productivity, practicing frugality, reducing production costs, expanding economic cooperation and so forth. The distribution of enterprise profits must combine, in a way that is well balanced, the interests of society, the collective and the individual laborer in exact accordance with the line and policies of the party and state.

2. The business mechanism: capitalist commodity production is the system of production of persons who practice private, capitalist ownership of the means of production. The mechanism through which capitalist economic laws exert their impact is competition. One of the contradictions of the capitalist economy is the contradiction between the organized nature of each separate enterprise and the disorganized state of society.

The socialist economy is a planned economy. The mechanism through which the economic laws of socialism exert an impact is planning. Commodity-money relations are necessary economic relations for planning. Because, all economic relations that are planned are implemented through commodity-money relations. Developments on the market of commodity-money relations are one of the very important practical bases for planning economic processes.

The above mentioned characteristics of the economic laws of socialism demand that:

a) The state, the tool that organizes and manages each economic activity in a planned manner, must set the direction of economic development and adopt policies, systems and regulations which insure that each activity takes the same direction as the common plan. Every economic unit must display activism and initiative and develop existing economic potentials to the maximum degree possible, make the most contributions possible to the national economy and meet established socio-economic goals as best possible.

b) Socialist enterprises, as Lenin said, must conduct their economic activities from the perspective of trade, that is, must operate as a business entity and know how to skillfully apply commodity-money relations with the aim of utilizing the assets provided to them by society in the manner that yields the highest possible socio-economic returns and makes the largest possible contributions to the socio-economic returns of the national economy.

To meet the demands mentioned above, socialist business must thoroughly implement the principle of democratic centralism. This principle "encompasses the capability--a capability created by history for the first time--to fully and freely develop not only the special characteristics of the locality, but also innovations by the locality, the initiative of the locality and a wide variety of measures, methods and means for achieving the common objective."(1) Society, as Engels said, "will abolish competition and replace it with cooperation."(2)

3. The enterprise management system: for socialist enterprises that conduct economic activities from the perspective of trade, the most appropriate economic management system is the one introduced by Lenin: economic accounting. When it practices economic accounting, the enterprise is independent from the standpoint of its profession and how it uses the assets provided to it by the state within the framework of public ownership of the means of production and the unified economic development guidelines and plan of the state. The enterprise must assume responsibility for losses and profits, for how it uses the capital supplied by the state in the form of credit and must constantly endeavor to create its own sources of capital. The enterprise provides material incentives to its laborers. The relationship among enterprises is established in accordance with the common plan of the state and implemented by means of economic contracts. The state manages enterprises primarily by means of economic measures and economic leverage policies.

From the above analysis, the following conclusion can be drawn: the socialist economic management mechanism is, at the same time, the socialist business mechanism. This mechanism consists of planning, the thorough implementation of the principle of democratic centralism and economic accounting.

The effort to dismantle the administrative management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and shift to the socialist business management mechanism in our country is taking place against the background of many complex difficulties. Within the production sector, the socialist segment of the economy has been established but production remains small-scale, serious imbalances exist and many economic potentials at basic units and within localities have not been developed. Distribution and circulation are in a state of disorder and chaos. Bourgeois powers have re-emerged. Private merchants, persons who earn their living illegally and degenerate elements within the state apparatus continue to control a significant portion of money and goods, to siphon money and goods from the state. The needs of the state are rising with each passing day. The gap between supply and demand is widening. The market, prices and the dong are unstable.

This situation necessitates that the shift to the socialist business mechanism be a long process, one which must be carried out gradually. In this process, we must dismantle the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and establish and gradually perfect the new management mechanism in a manner consistent with the state of the country's economy while taking positive, effective steps to use this mechanism to stimulate the fine-tuning of the new economic structure and bring about changes in the socio-economic situation. This approach reflects a correct understanding and application of the law that production relations must be compatible with the nature and level of development of production forces.

The complexity of this process of change demands that we solve, in a well coordinated manner and through practical and effective measures, a host of problems related to revamping the structure of the economy and the management mechanism as well as to management skills and the art of management. We suggest the following:

1. On the basis of the line on building the socialist economy and a correct socio-economic development strategy, the state must soon establish economic development programs for the entire country and for the various sectors and localities. These should be accompanied by economic policies which insure that each economic activity takes the charted course.

2. It is necessary to reorganize production and insure that the production units which remain have stable production conditions. The state must concentrate the supply of energy, of raw and other materials in the key components of the economy nationwide.

3. In conjunction with reorganizing production, determined steps must be taken to reorganize the market and restore order in the field of distribution and circulation. The reorganization of the market must be balanced with production so that the market is truly the place where favorable conditions exist for the reproduction process of the socialist segments of the economy to be carried out.

We must soon establish a market in means of production and a wholesale and retail system based on a mechanism that is orderly and backed by the law.

The first prerequisites to restoring order in the field of distribution and circulation are to rid ourselves of speculators and blackmarketeers, eliminate corruption and purify the state apparatus, particularly within those sectors that are related to the control of money and goods.

4. In shifting to the socialist business mechanism, we must begin by granting business autonomy to and implementing economic accounting at enterprises. On the basis of the practical experience gained on the basic level, we must revamp the organizational structure and the management mechanism on the national economic level. To stimulate a strong shift to economic accounting, it is first of all necessary, as pointed out in the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee, to dismantle price subsidies. Prices must not only insure that the enterprise earns the income needed to cover its costs, but must also meet many other requirements. Very important is the need for prices to maintain the real income of manual workers and civil servants and encourage basic units to improve their management, reorganize their production and apply scientific-technical advances. State-operated enterprises have the responsibility of waging a struggle, by means of prices and by using the prices established within the state-operated sector, to stabilize prices on the market.

5. The state must soon promulgate complete policies on consumption, exports and financing. These policies must be thoroughly implemented and become the principles guiding the actions of the people. The state must then take determined measures to insure that these policies are truly effective.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 27, p 261.



2. F. Engels: "The Principles of Communism," Su That Publishing House,  
Hanoi, 1971, p 18.

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SCIENTIFIC-PRACTICAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIALIST BUSINESS: CONCERNING SOCIALIST BUSINESS IN OUR COUNTRY TODAY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 55-58

[Article by Nguyen Van Huy]

[Text] Practicing socialist business is one of the important guidelines in revamping the economic management mechanism. These guidelines were confirmed by the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee as being: revamping the economic management mechanism, making the plan the center of operations and closely tying the plan to economic accounting and socialist business.

Socialist business is also the fundamental element of the economic activities of the basic economic units, the organizations and the production and business sectors within the socialist economic system. It is not only the guideline and fundamental element in the activities of economic units, but it also reflects the new way of thinking and working, that of constantly seeking higher productivity, quality and efficiency on the basis of combining the three types of interests in a way that is well balanced. Thinking and working in a flexible and creative manner with the aim of achieving the highest possible economic returns in production and business are the complete opposite of the way of thinking and working that are reflected in bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, in not respecting laws and not being concerned with returns.

A. Some Socialist Business Principles in Our Country at This Time:

1. Business must be based on production and effectively support the development of production. Only on the basis of developing production can the true conditions be established for stimulating business and insuring that production is closely tied to circulation with the aim of satisfying the rising needs of society.
2. Socialist business must be based on the plan and support the implementation of the state plan. Only on this basis can business be oriented in the correct direction.
3. The standard by which socialist business is evaluated is socio-economic returns. Here, there is a close link between socialist business and economic

accounting. Therefore, it can also be said that socialist business is the implementation of economic accounting.

4. Only business units directly conduct business activities. The management agencies on the various levels within the system of administrative-economic agencies only guide and inspect business activities. They do not directly engage in business. Confusing or merging the production-business function and the administrative-economic function lead to many disruptions, even to disorder, and, as a result, cause the returns achieved in each economic activity to be poor.

Understood in its narrow sense, business is the activities of commerce, and commerce is the link between production and consumption. Within the national economy, commerce serves the primary function of closely combining production and consumption in a planned manner with the aim of meeting the needs of the people and the economy for goods and services of a commercial nature, goods and services that must be delivered in the right quantity and quality, at the right price, place and time and at the lowest possible cost.

Thus, socialist commerce, which has the specific functions of operating in tandem with production and meeting the rising needs of society, must guarantee the use value of goods and guarantee balance within the socialist economy by organizing the circulation of goods in a planned manner, increasing the efficiency of the national economy on the basis of improving the circulation of goods, helping to strengthen the production process in depth, making widespread use of commodity-money relations and implementing the principle of distribution in accordance with labor.

During the past 10 years, although production in our country has increased, particularly agricultural production, the rate of growth has not been significant, has not been commensurate with the efforts expended and has lagged far behind the rate of population growth and the rising needs of economic construction and the strengthening of the national defense system (from 1975 to 1985, population grew at the average annual rate of 2.2 percent while national income only increased by 4.2 percent; therefore, the national income produced per capita, although it increased, did not increase significantly: 2,008 dong per capita in 1976 and 2,481 dong per capita in 1985; the national income spent per capita was 2,660 dong in 1975 and 2,731 dong in 1985--at 1982 comparative prices). Production has developed slowly and basically remains small-scale, consequently, the volume of products being produced is not large. At some times and places, there have not been products and goods to trade. On the other hand, the quantity of products and goods controlled by the state for use in distribution in accordance with the plan, that is, in business organized on a society-wide scale, has not been large or stable and has not encompassed each of the most important types of products. For example, even types of products that are among those most essential in production and everyday life and which must be mobilized by the state for business in home trade and foreign trade still make up only a small percentage of the total amount produced and the quantity mobilized has been unstable and, in some cases, even declining:

	1976	1985
--Percentage of grain mobilized by the state compared to the amount of grain produced (%)	15.3	21.8
--Percentage of a number of primary agricultural produced procured by the commerce sector (%)		
+ Pork, live weight	46.9	43.3
+ Fresh water fish	2.7	6.0
+ Soybeans	32.4	69.5
+ Whole peanuts	27.5	46.9
+ Jute	87.2	73.6
+ Rushes	82.4	46.8
--Percentage procured compared to quantity produced for a number of primary industrial goods (%)		
+ Salt	77.2	74.9
+ Fish sauce, soysauce	63.0	41.4
+ Cigarettes	100	80.2
+ Cloth of all types	64.0	50.0

Because the quantity of products and goods controlled by the state is not large, because distribution is poorly organized and because there are still many negative phenomena, even within the circulation system itself, materials and goods not reaching producers and consumers in the full quantity or of the right quality or type has become a widespread and increasingly serious problem. On the other hand, the state has also not been receiving full and timely deliveries of many types of products and goods that must be delivered to the state under the plan. At a time when the volume of goods in circulation is small and is lacking in variety, the number of organizations, cadres and personnel engaged in this work has risen very rapidly, particularly since the adoption of the policies on assigning management authority to the basic level and shifting to business practices. (For example, during the 7 years from 1977 to 1984, according to incomplete statistics, the number of supply units increased 2.6 times, from 206 supply corporations to 606 corporations.) At present, there are more than 50 export-import organizations from the central to the local level, etc. The abnormal situation of organizations that have absolutely no business function organizing business units or directly engaging in business to serve their own interests has caused difficulties in the management of sources of goods, prices, finances, the market and so forth. It is now widespread practice for the prices of goods to be raised as they pass through each level, even through each store, in order to take the price difference for themselves, considering this to be "business profit."

Prices have continued to rise, even on the organized market, especially since taking the measures that we did in 1985 to make adjustments in the fields of prices, wages and money, in accounting and in evaluating the results of business.

This situation urgently demands the restoration of order in the field of distribution-circulation, in particular, and within the economy, in general, with the aim of laying the groundwork needed to implement the resolutions of our party and state on managing the economy in accordance with the guidelines of thoroughly dismantling bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and shifting entirely to economic accounting and socialist business.

#### B. Some Policies for Insuring the Implementation of Socialist Business in Our Country Today:

On the basis of observing the principles of socialist business as stated above, we must perform the following jobs of a basic and pressing nature in order to gradually implement the socialist mode of business within our country:

1. Making every effort to develop production and expand the services: in the immediately future, efforts must be focused on restructuring the economy and shifting the focus of investments with the aim of making maximum use of social labor and existing production capacity, including that of the non-socialist segments of the economy, in order to produce many products and goods despite the many difficulties still being encountered with raw materials and energy. Therefore, the existing forces and material means of the state must be concentrated so that we can accelerate production within key sectors, at vital enterprises and within the most important fields of the national economy. At the same time, an appropriate policy and mechanism must be adopted to encourage the expansion of many business activities and fields of business to which we have long failed to truly attach importance, such as the tourist business, the banking business, the insurance business, the technical and administrative services business, the transportation business, etc.

2. Reorganizing the production and business system along specialized lines combined with general business to insure that the production-business cycle is unimpeded and highly efficient:

On the basis of restructuring and consolidating basic production and business units in order to guarantee their autonomy in production and business, it is necessary to strengthen the existing forms of production and business federations and organize these federations into economic-technical sectors that are strong enough to serve as the backbone of the national economy. When all the necessary conditions truly exist, we should establish federations of enterprises, corporations or general corporations within the fields of production and business that are in charge of everything from the first to the last element of an economic-technical sector, the production of a certain product or an important type of service. We must reorganize the entire circulation network in order to eliminate intermediary echelons, put a stop to the competition in procurements and sales that has resulted from too many organizations doing business in the same product and insure the rapid delivery of materials and goods by the most efficient route from where they are produced to where they are being marketed.

In principle, the administrative agencies of the state on the various levels and the mass organizations do not directly engage in business, rather, they

should concentrate on fulfilling the functions of managing and inspecting business to insure that it complies with the law, takes the correct direction and is consistent with the production and business plans established for each unit.

3. Endeavoring to quickly achieve financial and monetary stability, particularly price stability, to provide a good base for business activity.

The urgent requirement here is to take determined steps to implement the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum and Resolution 28, Resolution 31 and the conclusion of the Political Bureau concerning prices, wages and money with a view toward stabilizing the situation in the field of distribution-circulation and laying the foundation for production and business activities to be carried out smoothly. At the same time, we must research and implement a national financial policy in order to manage the reproduction process from the standpoint of value and put a stop to spontaneity and to applying the "free" market mechanism in production and business activities.

4. Re-examining, amending, revising and, if necessary, establishing new procedures and regulations, including quotas and standards, in production and business that are consistent with the requirements involved in revamping the economic management mechanism. The recently issued Political Bureau resolution (draft) and the detailed regulations of the Council of Ministers provide the necessary legal conditions for basic units to exercise autonomy in production and business.

The next step that must be urgently taken is for the levels above basic units and the levels which have responsibilities related to basic units to re-examine the documents they now have in effect, promptly rescind regulations that are no longer suitable and establish a new system of documents which truly guarantee the full and effective implementation of the authority and responsibility of basic units in production and business.

5. Training management and professional cadres who are full qualified and skilled in business, who think and act in a dynamic and creative manner for the sake of achieving economic returns and the objectives of socialist business.

6. Reorganizing the dissemination of economic information in order to meet the requirements of supplying and handling information in a rapid, timely, accurate and secure manner, with appropriate importance attached to equipping with and using modern tools in the management of production and business. At the same time, we must develop the role played by the mass media, from the central to the basic levels, in order to propagandize, introduce and direct business activities.

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SCIENTIFIC-PRACTICAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIALIST BUSINESS: SOME THOUGHTS ON  
ECONOMIC ACCOUNTING AND SOCIALIST BUSINESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 59-62

[Article by Le Xuan Han]

[Text] Socialist business differs from capitalist business in the following areas:

1. Socialist business precludes the exploitation of man by man because the primary means of production are under the ownership of the state and under collective ownership.
2. Planning is the principal method employed in business activities.
3. Under socialism, labor is not a commodity.
4. In the final analysis, all the differences between socialism and capitalism come down to who controls the results of business (profits). Under socialism, these results are under national ownership and collective ownership. The state and the collective use these results to constantly raise the material and cultural standard of living of the laboring people. This is a difference of vital importance that only the revolution can bring about and it is this which defines the nature of the two social systems.

Capitalist business and socialist business also share certain similarities:

1. Costs must be met and a profit must be earned in order to carry out expanded reproduction.
2. The market must constantly be expanded in order to steadily increase the socialized nature of business activities. Accordingly, every administrative obstacle to the exchange of goods among localities and among the different segments of the economy restricts and impedes business activity.
3. A common commodity must be used as the unit of measurement for all the different types of commodities in which business is done. This commodity is

money. It can be said that money is the "medium" for the chemical reaction that is "business." Money is the mirror in which the businessman sees himself, is the tool he uses in accounting...

Under socialism, not all accounting involves business but when business is being conducted, accounting must always be practiced. In years past, we implemented accounting at state-operated enterprises. This, however, was not economic accounting. As a result, it could not be said that we had put socialist business into practice.

Under the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, there are no strict laws upon the businessman. In their production, enterprises need not be very concerned with value, rather, they must be concerned first with administrative regulations concerning use value (what to make and within which technical parameters). All the interests of the collectives of the separate enterprises are calculated in advance and temporarily called consistent with this use value. This leads to many negative phenomena in business:

First, the nullification of concern for value at business units also nullifies interest in and vital concern for use value, for production costs, for the scientific-technological revolution at enterprises. Because, the lazier laborers become and the more labor costs rise, the more the income of the enterprise increases and the more its interests grow. As a result, the enterprise gives little attention to cutting expenses in order to reduce production costs.

Secondly, product trade at estimated prices that are highly subjective causes anarchy to emerge. The name of the state is used to harm the state and inspection by the state is evaded through the slogans "centralizing goods in the hands of the state" and "maintaining prices" (even though this turns out to be inflationary). In many cases, persons who hold the authority to distribute products have a much higher standard of living than those persons who directly produce products and goods.

Thirdly, economic accounting becomes economic accounting in form only because it is not practiced under the strict requirements of the market. The success of the person who must keep accounts depends not on such "positive efforts" as improving products, increasing their use value and promoting the scientific-technological revolution, but upon such "negative efforts" as maneuvering oneself into the position to buy materials at state prices; establishing "diplomatic relations" with the person who comes to approve the extent of "product diversification"; producing new products that are not part of the specialized task assigned to the enterprise with the aim of avoiding producing the products assigned by the state under the plan...

Fourthly, the seller does not see his existence as tied to the buyer. The seller does not need the buyer because, to the seller, goods represent only one thing--use value. This is the opposite of the concern that exists in the process of trade: only when the seller provides value does the buyer truly concern himself with use value and the commodity producer always needs the buyer whether supply is larger than demand or demand is larger than supply.



Fifthly, because the seller does not need the buyer, because economic accounting is economic accounting in form only and is based on estimated prices that do not reflect true value and because production costs are "permitted" to be high or low depending upon relations with the upper level, "planning" under the conditions of bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies in the form of allotments and deliveries inevitably leads to inefficiency throughout the economy.

Sixthly, the above mentioned things cause entrenched conservatism and stagnation, cause a lack of dynamism and creativity within basic business units. Clearly, when the seller needs the buyer, the seller must constantly improve what he does. When the buyer needs the seller, the seller becomes authoritarian...

To shift the economy to economic accounting and socialist business, we feel that the following steps must be taken:

1. We should not "enclose" business collectives within the so called "organized market," which essentially only entails allotments and deliveries, not business and accounting. The country has but one market. If we intentionally divide this market into separate markets, they become essentially nothing more than markets in which goods leak from one market to the next. Therefore, business collectives must have a unified business plan. They cannot do business under and outside the plan as they are doing now with their plan A, plan B and plan C.

2. Business collectives must have a business strategy in which economic contracts are their plan and production should only be carried out when they have or are certain of having a contract. Contracts with economic units in every production sector must be based on equality and negotiated prices. Under this mechanism, an order from the state for goods of the enterprise is, from the perspective of the terms of the order, such as those dealing with materials, prices, liquid capital and so forth, equal to orders from other economic units.

3. The state must rapidly assign business management responsibilities. As regards state-operated enterprises, we suggest that they be divided into two groups:

--Group 1 should consist of those state-operated enterprises which directly control the production of and business in a number of products on the list of products in which the state does business. The enterprises of this group, which can still be subsidized by the state, are not many in number but are necessary. Their number should depend upon the actual administrative management capabilities of the state. In our opinion, this list should be limited to less than 20 types of products, such as fuel, electricity, cement, wood, construction steel, fertilizer, pesticides, ocean, rail and air transport, etc. In the case of these enterprises, the state should approve their production plans and pay wages based on the output and quality of their products. On the other hand, the state must adopt subsidy and economic incentive policies aimed at insuring that the standard of living of the cadres, manual workers and civil servants at these enterprises is higher than

or equal to that of their counterparts at those enterprises whose production is not directly managed by the state.

--Group 2 should consist of all enterprises whose business operations are not directly controlled by the state. In the case of the enterprises of this group, the state should only promulgate and implement a product-based policy. State-operated enterprises, collectives and private individuals who do business in the same type of product should be taxed equally.

4. It is necessary to rapidly shift supply operations to socialist business practices. All means of production that are imported or produced domestically, if not traded among state enterprises (group 1) or directly traded for other materials with farmers or other business collectives (including the enterprises of group 2) on the basis of economic contracts should be commercialized and sold by the state at a unified price. This price can be adjusted upward or downward on the basis of supply and demand and the projected expenditures plan.

5. The state must promptly adjust the real value of the dong. Outside the scope of trade at state enterprises (group 1) at estimated prices, the dong can be used separately for enterprises to practice accounting. The value of the dong must be tied to materials. All other trade must involve the use of but one currency. No "letter of introduction" can be of higher value than the currency because, in commodity production, money is the measurement of the wealth of all society, not just certain persons. Only in the "medium" of this common currency can commodity production develop. The constant differential between two dongs--one tied to materials and goods and one used in free trade--causes economic accounting to become meaningless, causes production to develop poorly, causes countless social ills...

To solve the above problems, it is necessary, in our opinion, to establish the new mechanism which guarantees that basic production units are truly independent in business. However, for this new mechanism to gradually come into being, we must achieve well coordinated solutions in the immediate future to three pressing and complex problems--those of prices, wages and money.

As regards prices, the foremost task confronting us is to maintain the real value of the dong and stabilize revenue sources by gradually putting a portion and eventually putting the whole of the difference between the two prices into the hands of the state and by stabilizing the collection of taxes from business units on the basis of thoroughly assigning business responsibilities and authority to basic units. In the current situation, and for a long time to come, the basic problem facing the state is that of controlling money, not goods. The more attention has been given to controlling goods, the more goods and money have slipped from the hands of the state.

The important task is to gradually claim the entirety of the difference between the two prices, which, in the immediate future, involves paying all subsidies through wages and reducing and eventually eliminating the payment of subsidies for losses through the circulation of consumer goods, thus compelling these sectors to conduct true business activities.

After stabilizing the subsidization of prices through wages and eventually including in production costs the full price of all the different types of materials for which the price differential is too large (such as iron and steel, for example), the state should only calculate "input," that is, what the state needs to get back, and let the enterprise take care of the "output," requiring it only to market its products and pay its full tax liability to the state. The process of subsidizing prices through wages in order to eventually calculate all prices under a one price mechanism must always be closely linked to decentralizing management and boldly assigning the responsibility to basic business units for meeting their own costs and deciding prices on their own. Subsidization in business is more dangerous than subsidization through prices.

As regards wages, once we have reached a consensus concerning boldly assigning responsibility and authority to basic units and once wages are considered a factor of production costs, the wage problem will be easy to solve. At present, it is very difficult for an enterprise to seek an additional dong in wages. However, if the enterprise is asking for 10 dong to buy (and then waste) materials, it can do so easily with virtually no obstacles in its way, even though it can save 10 dong in materials by spending an additional dong in wages (or a bonus).

Wages must be considered an equal factor in the cost of producing commodities (not to mention be given priority in accordance with the fundamental law of socialism).

Once the price problem has been resolved in the way described above, the enterprise must assume responsibility for wages. It must incur the loss when its wages are higher than permitted by social labor productivity or when its prices are not acceptable to the buyer. However, this broadening of authority must be carried out after the prices of materials are being fully included in production costs, otherwise the enterprise will use the material price differential to pay wages and bonuses. The state will not need to provide a hardship subsidy to the cadres, manual workers and civil servants of basic business units. These basic units will have to adjust and meet these costs on their own.

As regards money, once we have granted broader business autonomy and solved the problems of prices and wages as described above, enterprises and even society will have but one currency, with the exception of trade among the enterprises of group 1. There will no longer be a dong that is given priority in procurements and a "free" dong. Places that are given priority (for the development of agriculture, for example) will be allotted additional money by the state through a well-focused investment plan.

We must stabilize the value of money so that every citizen and enterprise can plan how best to use money and uses money not to hoard consumer goods or squander them away, but to invest in production or loan it to the bank so that well focused investments can be made.

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SCIENTIFIC-PRACTICAL CONFERENCE IN SOCIALIST BUSINESS: CONCERNING SOCIALIST BUSINESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 63-66

[Article by Hong Chuong]

[Text] Through these two days of discussion, we have helped to shed additional light on the matter of socialist business. Many persons have addressed the questions: what is business? How does socialist business differ from capitalist business? How does socialist business differ from bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies? What are the specifics of socialist business? Other persons have presented the conditions that are needed to practice socialist business.

The participants in this discussion have expressed identical or nearly identical opinions concerning these major issues.

However, there are still some issues concerning which a difference of opinion still exists, such as: is there competition under socialism? Does the law of supply and demand apply under socialism? Under socialism, particularly in the initial stage of the period of transition, which is the current stage in our country, is there one market or two? Should we pursue a one price or two price policy?

Concerning competition, some persons have said that there is competition under socialism, even though socialist competition differs from capitalist competition. Only through socialist competition is technology improved, labor productivity raised and production accelerated. Enterprises that operate well develop. Enterprises that operate poorly record low productivity and must close their doors. As a result, the state must have bankruptcy laws. Conversely, some persons maintain that there is only emulation (not competition) under socialism. The aims of socialist emulation are to accelerate production, bring about technological improvements and raise labor productivity. Emulation encourages unity, mutual assistance and mutual progress. Competition encourages fighting one another and the practice of "big fish eating little fish" as seen under capitalism. Thus, there are two opposite opinions.

In our country during the period of transition, five different economic segments exist. There is competition among these economic segments, particularly between the socialist and non-socialist segments. The purpose of this competition is to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" that exists between the socialist path and the capitalist path. The private segment of the economy, particularly private bourgeoisie, which the state permits to exist, develops in accordance with the law of laissez faire competition, even though this competition is limited when the state-operated segment of the economy controls the entire national economy. Is there, within the socialist segments of the economy, competition among state-operated enterprises? Concerning this question, theorists assert that there is competition in some fraternal countries, such as Hungary, Bulgaria and so forth, but this is socialist competition, which differs from capitalist competition. Thus, how does socialist competition differ from socialist emulation? Should the terminology "socialist emulation" be dropped in favor of "socialist competition"? We must give additional thought to this question. While we should not reach hasty conclusions, we also should not hold any preconceived opinions.

As regards the law of supply and demand, does this law apply under socialism? What is this law? Simply stated, it is: the more supply outstrips demands, the lower the prices of goods are; conversely, the more demand outstrips supply, the higher the prices of goods are. When commodity production exists, the law of supply and demand inevitably applies, as does the law of value and the law of the circulation of money. Under socialism, commodity production still exists and the law of supply and demand still applies. However, the impact of this law is not the same as it is under capitalism. Because, it is controlled by the fundamental economic law and the other economic laws of socialism. In summary, under socialism, the law of supply and demand exists in an objective manner. However, it is a "company grade" or "field grade" law, not a "general grade" law. The "general grade" law under socialism is the fundamental economic law of socialism.

The issue of the law of supply and demand is the issue of the market, that is, the circulation of and trade in commodities, which are an element of social reproduction. Applying the law of supply and demand does not mean "responding to the market mechanism." We must act on the basis of the law of supply and demand but without the factor of speculation.

Another issue is that of whether there is one or two markets. In our country socialist and non-socialist segments of the economy exist side by side during the period of transition. As a result, during the period of transition, our country has an organized market and an unorganized market, which we call the "free" market. These two markets combine to form the social market. Thus, there are two markets within one. There is one market consisting of two markets. As the state-operated economy and the collective economy grow, the organized market becomes larger and stronger and controls the "free" market. The existence of the "free" market is necessary. This market will remain in existence for a long time. Our state only prohibits speculation, blackmarketing and illegal trade, not the "free" market. There needs to be a "free" market beside the organized market because: the economy still consists of many segments; there is a need for direct trade between producers and

consumers; producers who cannot sell all the goods they produce need small merchants to buy up these goods and put them on sale...

We should not consider the "free" market as something opposed to socialism that must be abolished immediately. Rather, we must utilize, control and lead it. We should not view the "free" market with disdain. The existence of the "free" market will continue to be necessary for a long time to come. It augments the organized market. But we also should not relax our management of the "free" market and participate in its spontaneity. As long as the "free" market exists, we must struggle against its capitalist spontaneity. Of decisive importance are the forces and quality of business of the organized market, that is, the socialist market. The socialist market can only control the "free" market when it is strong and of high quality.

In its advance to socialism, our country is bypassing capitalist production relations. However, we cannot bypass the development of commodity production. Once commodity production exists, the market and the market mechanism also exist. The market mechanism is the activities conducted in the market in accordance with the laws of the movement of goods and money. We should not avoid or shy away from the market mechanism. Because, it is an objective reality that exists independent of our subjective desires. Rather, we must effectively apply this mechanism as one with the planning mechanism, with planning playing the central role, for the purpose of advancing the interests of socialism.

Should there be one price or two? The essence of this issue is: on which basis are prices determined. Some persons maintain that there is only one basis, namely, value. Prices are to be set only on the basis of value. Of course, under the law of value, there must be price parity in trade, that is, trade must be conducted on the basis of value. Generally speaking, total prices must equal total value in society. However, in the case of each individual commodity, the price fluctuates around value, sometimes being higher, sometimes lower than value. It is not always equal to value. Because, when circulated on the market, commodities are subject to the law of supply and demand. On the other hand, prices are the monetary expression of value. Therefore, prices also depend upon the purchasing power of money. The value of the total volume of goods in circulation equals the total amount of money in circulation multiplied by  $n$  ( $n$  being the turnover rate of money). As the volume of money issued increases and the turnover of money accelerates, the purchasing power of money decreases and the prices of goods rise. Therefore, prices must be based not only on value, but also on supply and demand and the purchasing power of money. There is only one correct price. Consequently, our guideline must be to eventually achieve one price, that is, eventually achieve the correct price.

What is a one price policy? The state, for example, sells electricity at one price. However, the price at which electricity is sold to producers is different than the price at which it is sold to consumers. The price at which electricity is sold to consumers below the limit imposed by ration standards is different from the price of electricity sold over and above ration standard. This is the one price policy of the state on electricity. There is only one price but it varies depending upon to whom electricity is sold.

And what is a two price policy? Paddy procured under two-way contracts involving convertible goods is procured at the plan price. Surplus paddy being sold by farmers over and above obligations is procured at negotiated prices. This is a two price policy. The state sells a number of essential consumer goods to wage earners at supply prices in order to maintain their real wages and sells the same products to other persons at business support prices. This is also a two price policy. These two prices, however, are temporary and will eventually become one price.

Returning to the issue of socialist business, business under socialism must, of course, be planned. The question here is not whether business should be conducted under a plan. Rather, it is what kind of plan is correct. A subsidized plan is incorrect. Planning must be revamped. We must apply the relationships between goods and money. We must establish a correct relationship between the plan and the market. When formulating plans, the market must be taken into consideration, both the socialist market and the "free" market. Plans must be formulated on the basis of the market. In the process of implementing plans, we must adjust plans on the basis of applying the law of supply and demand. Production plans must meet the needs and satisfy the tastes of consumers. Management must be provided by means of economic measures. Leverage policies must be used to implement the plan.

Socialist business is centered around the plan and, at the same time, applies the relationships between goods and money. Correctly applying the relationships between money and goods and market relations within the planning mechanism as an organic entity, this is the essence of socialist business. If we continue to maintain the old management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, socialist business cannot be achieved. The characteristic features of the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies are:

1. Economic management is provided by means of administrative orders. Too much authority to decide economic matters is centralized within administrative management agencies. These agencies, however, are not responsible for the decisions they make.

2. In subsidization through distribution and allotments, economic efficiency is not taken into consideration. Responsibility is not tied to material interests. The payment of wages has no relationship to the quantity and quality of labor.

3. The organizational system of the management apparatus is a cumbersome system that encompasses many intermediary levels, is inefficient, bureaucratic and authoritarian.

The mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies came into being during the war against the background of having to meet basic needs by implementing a system of allotments so that we could fight and win victory. This mechanism was also the product of outmoded concepts regarding socialism, of mistaken, preconceived ideas concerning commodity production and the law of value. If the subsidy mechanism is maintained, socialist business cannot be put into practice.

To put socialist business into practice, we must establish the new management mechanism. The characteristic features of this new mechanism, which is based on democratic centralism, economic accounting and socialist business, are:

1. Revamping planning; applying economic laws; building upon the dominant role played by the laws of socialism while making correct use of the laws governing the movement of the relationships between goods and money; and providing management primarily by means of economic measures while using leverage policies to implement the plan.

2. Basic economic units must be guaranteed of being autonomous in their business, must correctly practice economic accounting, must carry out capital formation and recover capital on their own and must operate a profitable business. The income of the laborer at basic economic units must be closely tied to the development of the unit's business.

3. The apparatus must be reorganized and strengthened. A clear distinction must be made between the administrative-economic management function of state agencies and the production-business management function of economic organizations and units. Management responsibilities must be assigned in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism.

Dismantling the old mechanism and establishing the new represent a reform of profound revolutionary significance, a reform in which the top and the bottom must be combined, management agencies and mass movements must be combined. We must proceed gradually and gradually expand our efforts, advancing from the incomplete to the complete.

To do this, we must change our thinking, particularly our economic thinking. We must rid ourselves of bold, outmoded concepts regarding socialism. We must rid ourselves of erroneous, preconceived ideas concerning commodity production and the market.

Socialist business is extremely important. However, it can only exert an impact when a correct policy has been adopted concerning the structure of the economy. At the same time, a correct policy on socialist transformation must be adopted. Therefore, we must achieve well coordinated solutions to problems in many fields before we can advance our country's economy.

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## IMPROVING INSPECTION WORK

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 67-69, 58

[Article by Bui Quang Tao]

[Text] During the nearly 3 years that we have spent implementing Party Secretariat Directive Number 38 on strengthening the party's leadership of inspection work and Council of Ministers' Resolution Number 26 on strengthening the inspection organization and increasing the effectiveness of inspections, new advances have been made in this work. Inspection activities have been conducted on a regular basis in accordance with programs and plans. The conclusions reached and proposals made by inspection agencies following many inspections have made a practical impact. Through these inspections, additional experience has been gained in guiding and conducting inspection activities.

Many leaders on the various levels and many leaders within the various sectors and basic units, after adopting a plan and measures for organizing the implementation of the resolutions and directives of the party and the principles and policies of the state within the sector, locality or basic unit under their management, have been attaching importance to guiding inspections of the performance of the vital tasks of the sector, the lower levels and basic units, particularly the important basic units of the national economy. As a result, leaders have promptly gained important information at basic units and learned about the advantages and difficulties, the strongpoints and mistakes of basic units, which has helped them to assess and evaluate the situation in a manner consistent with objective realities and take specific measures to build upon strengths, prevent and correct mistakes, assist in rectifying shortcomings or harshly deal with serious mistakes, thereby making their efforts to guide the implementation of the positions and policies of the party and the plans and laws of the state more effective. At the same time, they have gained an understanding of the thinking and aspirations of cadres, manual workers, civil servants and the people, seen how correct positions and policies are and proposed ways to revise or amend them to be consistent with the actual situation.

At those places where the party committee and administration are concerned with guiding inspection work, the inspection organization has been strengthened through the addition of inspection cadres who possess good

political qualities and job skills and the role and positive impact of inspections have been developed. At these places, the people's inspection committees conduct activities of high quality. They have offered worthwhile opinions and proposed to the administration ways to resolve, right at basic units, many complaints and charges filed by the people. A number of heads of state agencies on the various levels and within the different sectors have given their attention to examining and successfully resolving many complaints and suits, thereby generating enthusiasm on the part of the masses and confidence among them in the party's leadership and the management being provided by the administration.

However, within many ministries, sectors and localities, particularly on the district and precinct level, the specialized inspection organization and the people's inspection organization have not been improved. Efforts to strengthen them in keeping with the spirit and content of Secretariat Directive Number 38 and Council of Ministers' Resolution Number 26 have been slow. Therefore, the quality and effectiveness of inspections have not met the leadership requirements of the party or the management requirements of the state. More than a few leaders within a number of sectors, localities and basic units still give light attention to inspections. At many places, the head of the provincial, municipal, district, precinct or city inspection committee is not qualified to be a member of the party committee or the people's committee on the same level. The activities of the people's inspection organizations at many basic units are weak and ineffective. Many complaints and suits are not promptly acted upon. In particular, action upon complaints and suits filed long ago has been slow...

In the present situation, the pressing requirements faced in inspection work are to make practical contributions to stabilizing the socio-economic situation while helping us to move ahead and meet the requirements of the tasks set by the 6th Party Congress. Therefore, in the immediate future, inspection organizations and inspection cadres must display an even deeper understanding of the views of the party concerning inspections in their inspection activities and, on the basis of the resolutions and directives of the party, the policies and laws of the state and our central, pressing tasks, inspect implementation, bring problems to light and propose specific measures to solve problems in a manner consistent with the line, with policies and the law. To accomplish this, the requirement of foremost importance concerning inspection organizations is for the various party committee echelons and the administrations on the different levels to correctly implement Political Bureau Resolution Number 34: "It is necessary to strengthen the State Inspection Commission and the inspection system and increase their responsibility and authority to insure that the inspection work conducted by the State Inspection Commission and the various levels is truly effective," thereby making the organization of the inspection system on the various levels commensurate with the requirements of the current socio-economic situation and tasks and quickly correcting shortages and inadequacies, from the standpoint of both organization and cadres.

In terms of state administration, it is necessary to codify the views and positions of the party concerning the inspection organization and inspection activities in the form of regulations on inspection work and promulgate these

regulations quickly with the aim of more clearly defining the position and nature of inspection work and augmenting the functions and tasks while increasing the responsibility and authority of the entire system of inspection organizations. The inspection sections of the ministries and sectors must increase the effectiveness of inspections and create the conditions for the inspection organization to truly become the competent tool of the various party committee echelons and administrations, thereby helping to increase the strength of the proletarian dictatorship, insure the correct implementation of the lines and policies of the party and plans and laws of the state and struggle to eradicate negative phenomena in society.

Inspection work is work of a state nature and work of a popular nature. It is work of a state nature because of the legal standing of inspection organizations and inspection activities. It is work of a popular nature because of the ownership role played by the masses as they consciously and voluntarily participate in the inspection of the activities of the state and society. The people become a widespread inspection force. In building inspection organizations and guiding inspection activities, in order for the dual nature of this work to be manifested, it is necessary not only to attach importance to strengthening the specialized inspection organizations, but also necessary to give attention to building and strengthening the people's inspection organizations on the basic level. Many interesting forms of propaganda must be employed to propagandize the views concerning inspections and the requirements and methods of inspection activities. Appropriate measures must be taken to gain the participation of the masses in effectively fulfilling their functions of regularly supervising and inspecting the implementation of the state plan and compliance with the lines and policies of the party and laws of the state at basic units so that everyone is concerned with inspection work and collaborates with inspection cadres and people's inspectors, thereby insuring that inspection activities are conducted regularly, are widespread and effective. In the immediate future, existing people's inspection committees must be strengthened so that they truly function as inspection committees. At the same time, we must firmly strengthen and expand newly established people's inspection committees so that people's inspection committees are operating everywhere and producing practical results. We must avoid only giving attention to increasing the size of these committees but not concerning ourselves with observing, guiding and creating the conditions for them to properly perform their task of providing regular supervision and inspection at basic units.

The current task of inspection organizations and inspection cadres is to concentrate on inspecting the implementation of the basic elements of the resolution of the 9th Party Plenum on the state plan in 1986 during the final months of 1986; inspecting the implementation of Political Bureau Resolution Number 31, the conclusion reached by the recent Political Bureau conference and Council of Ministers' Resolution Number 31 concerning the urgent steps to be taken to correctly implement the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum on prices, wages and money; and inspecting the implementation of Directive Number 133 of the chairman of the Council of Ministers on the prompt and just prosecution of violations of criminal law.

The inspection of the implementation of the above mentioned resolutions and directive must be widespread, particularly in key provinces and municipalities and at important basic economic units. It is necessary to promptly bring the situation at basic units to light, reach correct conclusions and propose practical solutions to problems that are consistent with reality, thereby helping to step up agricultural, industrial and small industry-handicraft production, increase the output and quality of products and appropriately raise the income of the laborer. A determined struggle must be waged to eradicate negative phenomena and stabilize the standard of living of cadres, manual workers, civil servants and the people. Agricultural production is the front of foremost importance. In the inspection work conducted within this field, importance must be attached to offering opinions and making proposals to the various leadership levels so that they can gain experience in agricultural management and improve the quality of product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers within cooperatives with the aim of encouraging and mobilizing the class of collective farmers to work hard to produce many agricultural products, thereby benefitting both the state and their families.

In view of the difficult circumstances we face today, in addition to the efforts made by inspection cadres and people's inspectors to perform better work, active assistance is needed from the various levels, sectors and basic units to create the conditions for inspection cadres to complete their task. In conjunction with reorganizing and strengthening the corps of inspection cadres, plans must be adopted for providing regular training to increase their knowledge and understanding of the lines and policies of the party and laws of the state and improve their job skills and the quality of their work. At the same time, as stated in Council of Ministers' Resolution Number 26, a material and spiritual benefits policy consistent with the nature and characteristics of inspection work must be adopted.

Of special importance in strengthening inspection organizations and increasing the effectiveness of inspections is concern on the part of the various party committee echelons for leading inspection work. Secretariat Directive Number 38 points out: "Party committees must select comrades who are fully qualified in terms of their personal qualities, skills and experience in inspection work and who have the trust of cadres, party members and the masses to serve as the heads of the inspection committees on the various levels." Council of Ministers' Resolution Number 26 also states: "The heads of the sectors on the central level and the people's committees on the various levels must correctly understand the position and requirements of inspection work and, on this basis, constantly intensify their guidance of the inspection organization and inspection activities."

With the close leadership and guidance of the various levels of the party and administration, with the coordinated activities of the various sectors and mass organizations and with the participation of cadres, manual workers, civil

servants and the people together with the efforts made by inspection organizations themselves, our inspection work will surely record new advances and complete the tasks assigned by the party, state and people well.

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## THE NATIONALITIES QUESTION IN THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN OUR COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 70-74

[Article by Mac Duong]

[Text] The 4th National Congress of the Party raised the nationalities question in a manner befitting its importance. The resolution of the 4th Congress pointed out that "correctly resolving the nationalities question is one of the strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution." This is an assessment of the revolutionary capabilities of the ethnic minorities and the contributions made by them to the cause of revolution. It also expresses the requirement of the country regarding the ethnic minorities in its socio-economic development strategy. Therefore, the nationalities question is a question with which our party must constantly be concerned, a question which the socialist state must consider especially important. Because, if there is a lack of concern for this issue or if this issue is given light attention, our country's common revolutionary cause will inevitably be adversely affected. Due to the fact that it is of strategic importance, the nationalities question must be taken into full consideration in each thought and action of our party, must be concretized in the form of socio-economic development plans and policies and must be thoroughly addressed on a permanent basis in the process of the party and the proletarian dictatorship state providing leadership and guidance. Therefore, the ethnic minority issue must be addressed in the spirit of a steadfast strategy for the sake of the interests of the Vietnamese socialist fatherland, for the sake of the enduring unity of the community of ethnic groups living within our country.

Worldwide, the nationalities question has also become one of the strategic issues of our times. During the past few decades, the imperialists and other reactionaries have used the ethnic minority issue as an effective weapon in creating internal divisions, fomenting political unrest and provoking anti-revolutionary sentiments among the peoples of the socialist countries and progressive independent countries.

Building upon the views of the 4th Congress concerning the nationalities question, the 5th Congress of the Party set forth specific guidelines for implementing the nationalities policy. At the 5th Congress, the complete equality and the right of collective ownership of the ethnic minorities in our country were confirmed. This is a matter of major importance in the

relationship between the ethnic minorities and ethnic majority of a country. Due to reasons rooted in history and the continuing gap in standards and living conditions, the issue of the complete equality and the right of collective ownership of the ethnic minorities is easily given light attention in many different fields. In the process of socialist construction, the complete equality and the right of socialist collective ownership of the ethnic minorities are the basis of unity and consensus among ethnic groups, particularly between the ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority.

Since the 5th Congress, the agencies of our party and state have recorded many significant achievements in nationalities work. Party Central Committee Directive 23 (November 1977) on bringing about the settlement of nomads in coordination with building new economic zones and cooperatives was followed by important directives on the Khmer issue (Party Secretariat Directive 117 dated 29 September 1981), on the Cham (Directive 121 dated 26 October 1981) and on ethnic Chinese in the new situation (Directive 10 dated 17 October 1982). In addition, the ministries and sectors have adopted specific positions and policies on researching and resolving pressing problems within ethnic areas (for example, the Ministry of Education and the issue of ethnic languages, the Ministry of Culture and the issue of ethnic culture, the Ho Chi Minh Municipal Party Committee and the ethnic Chinese issue...). During the past 10 years, awareness of the role and position of the ethnic minorities in our country has been greatly increased. The war along the southwestern border, the 1978 "Chinese refugees" issue and the war of aggression in the spring of 1979 in the provinces along our country's northern border have further highlighted the strategic nature of the nationalities question. They have also been vivid realities that have helped to strengthen the position of the mass view in how we look at and evaluate the laboring masses of the ethnic minorities in our country.

During the past 10 years, the ethnic minority areas of our country have undergone basic and profound social changes. These changes, however, have not been widespread or comprehensive. The efforts made by the ethnic minorities in the process of building the new life have been very large despite the facts that a war is still being fought at many places and saboteurs continue to impede these changes. In the ethnic minority areas of the North, agricultural harvests have been quite good for many years and the scope of hunger has been very greatly reduced. Moreover, in recent years, hydroelectric power plants, village cultural centers and libraries, medical aid stations, new roads and sturdy wood homes with tile roofs have been constructed at many places in the wilderness. In Cao Bang, Lang Son, Hoang Lien Son, Lai Chau and Ha Son Binh Provinces, many ethnic minority areas now have the new look of small towns. There is now a fuller supply of clothing, footwear and household utensils available. At a couple of places, there are developed handicraft trades, small industry and handicraft trades producing goods under contract for exportation... As regards cultural entertainment, the ethnic minorities at many places see a film each month. The ethnic minorities in some remote areas also attend performances by cultural entertainment groups visiting northern border areas from other regions of the country. Today, all mountain provinces have a general hospital. Practically all mountain districts have a district hospital. We now have more than a few professors, M.A.'s and college educated cadres who are members of ethnic minorities. The corps of workers at state-

operated enterprises also includes many persons who are minority members. Many of them are mechanics and construction workers. Most are workers at state forestry sites and state farms. Within our corps of persons engaged in literary and art work are many talented minority members, many of whom have distinguished themselves at talent competitions in the world.

In the ethnic minority areas of Binh Tri Thien Province, which once faced more difficulties than any other area, more than 60 percent of minority members have now abandoned nomadic farming and the nomadic way of life. In Huong Huu Village in southeastern Phu Loc District, more than 1,000 members of the Co-tu minority, which, prior to 1977, still lived in abject poverty roaming throughout the mountainous forests, have now adopted settled lives, established a cooperative, developed more than 100 hectares of land, including 30 hectares of wet rice fields, built many tile homes and established many fruit orchards and more than 200 Uncle Ho fishponds. In Huong Hoa, members of the Van Kieu minority have cleared and put under cultivation 1,000 hectares of wet rice fields, built many small-scale water conservancy projects and developed hydroelectric power, which provides electricity for lighting in all hamlets and villages and wired radio loudspeakers in many individual homes. They are also practicing many handicraft trades and have developed cattle production. In A Luoi District, the movements to build the VAC system (truck farming, pisciculture and animal husbandry), build wooden houses with tile roofs and establish sanitary living and eating habits among the ethnic minorities have truly been spirited movements in recent years. In Quang Nam-Da Nang Province, the lives of the ethnic minorities living in those areas where cinnamon grows have changed markedly. Roads have developed. Many places once accessible only by foot can now be reached by vehicle. The minorities have developed the household economy while working in cooperatives and at forestry sites harvesting cinnamon and native forest products. In western Nghia Binh Province following liberation, due to the extensive destruction suffered in the war, many places experienced hunger, cropland had been lying fallow for many years, there was an acute shortage of water and the lives of the ethnic minorities were very difficult. In 1980, the revolutionary administration launched a movement to build small-scale water conservancy projects in the mountains. As a result, more than 60 percent of the area under cultivation in the foothills was irrigated and 80 percent of farmland was restored. By the start of 1981, per capita grain consumption in ethnic minority areas reached 350 kilograms, 400 kilograms per capita in highland areas, 50 percent of which was in the form of cassava. There are many well run cooperatives, such as the Son Ky and Tra Nieu Cooperatives, the Son Cao Collective, the Dak Mang Collective, the Vinh Hao Collective, the Vinh Hieu Collective and so forth. Once nomadic, the Ba-na, Ca Dong and Co Xua minorities have now adopted settled lifestyles, cultivate wet rice fields, practice forestry and have developed livestock production. In western Phu Khanh Province, cattle raising has developed very rapidly. In Thuan Hai Province, many Cham areas, such as Ninh Hai and Bac Binh, have undergone very profound changes in the last 10 years. The cooperativization movement and the movement to raise crop yields among the Cham have become distinctive features of the locality. In eastern Nam Bo, Lam Dong Province and the Central Highlands, many ethnic minority members have become workers at state rubber, coffee, tea or sugarcane farms. The lives of the ethnic minorities in Gia Lai-Kontum and Dak Lac Provinces, at Di Linh, Bao Loc and Lac Duong (Lam Dong



Province), at Binh Long and Loc Ninh (Song Be Province), at Xuan Loc (Dong Nai Province) and so forth have changed in many ways, from their eating and living habits to their standard of living, their methods of earning a living, their enjoyment of culture and social intercourse.

In the Mekong Delta, social changes among the Khmer, the Islamic Cham and the ethnic Chinese have also been quite marked. Among the Khmer, the most distinct changes to occur in the past 10 years have been the application of new techniques in agriculture, the introduction of intensive cultivation and multicropping, the production of high yield rice, a reduction in the scope of the monoculture of rice and the expansion of the cultivation of new types of agricultural products never before raised by the Khmer. In Kien Giang Province, Khmer fellow countrymen have borrowed money from the bank to equip with dozens of tractors. Fields once fallow in Tra Cu (Cuu Long Province) and Gia Rai (Minh Hai Province) have now become fertile rice fields irrigated and drained by water conservancy projects. The movement to establish production collectives has developed rapidly in the 1980's. Nearly 90 percent of farmers have joined collectives. Khmer culture, literature and art have been developed and introduced nationwide. The Islamic Cham once had no land to farm. Their traditional weaving trade had eroded and they were living unstable lives as small merchants. Today, they have cropland to farm and have restored their weaving trade. Islamic Cham women now attend school and actively participate in social work. Since the "Chinese refugees" incident in 1978, ethnic Chinese laborers in the Mekong Delta and Ho Chi Minh City have truly changed in many respects. They approach production with a feeling of confidence and have enthusiastically contributed to the maintenance of order and security within the locality. The ethnic Chinese in the 4th Subward of the 11th Precinct in Ho Chi Minh City (who make up 80 percent of the subward's population) became the leaders in the movement to raise productivity within the small industry and handicraft sector of the city during the early 1980's. Many subwards in which ethnic Chinese laborers reside in the 5th Precinct, Tan Binh District, the 6th Precinct and other places have recorded many achievements in the fields of production, culture and physical culture-sports. Many ethnic Chinese families have been recognized as families of the new culture...

In summary, during the past 10 years, the lives of the ethnic minorities in our country have truly undergone fundamental changes in many respects. The new trend in the development of the nation is continuous progress. However, our new circumstances and needs are causing us to give much thought to how we can resolve the nationalities question better.

To begin with, one important fact to which attention must be given is that the majority of the ethnic minorities living in our country are related, in terms of language, customs, habits and religion, to a number of other ethnic minorities in southern China or in the countries on the Indochina peninsula or elsewhere in Southeast Asia. In the past 30 years, the ethnic minority situation in these countries has also undergone very complex changes. The authorities of these countries and the most reactionary forces within the region have enacted demagogic policies aimed at winning over ethnic minorities, developing natural resources in ethnic minority areas and spreading chauvinist thinking with the intention of combating the trend toward

revolution within these nations. In recent years, facts have shown that the imperialists, acting in collaboration with the expansionists and hegemonists as well as other reactionary powers, still have many sinister plans with regard to the ethnic minorities in our country as well as the other countries on the Indochina peninsula and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. As a result, while resolving the nationalities question in our country, we must concern ourselves with the complex changes occurring within the region and give greater attention to the schemes of imperialist circles and other reactionaries in land and border issues as they relate to ethnic minorities. On the other hand, and this is a matter of very basic importance, correctly resolving the ethnic minority issue in our country will influence progressive trends among the ethnic minorities of neighboring nations.

The internal and external aspects of the nationalities question in our country must be fully studied, not only from an historical perspective, but, more importantly, from the perspective of current socio-political changes as well. To resolve the nationalities question in our country correctly and in a manner closely related to our socio-economic strategy in the initial stage of the period of transition, we must promptly bring to light the new antagonisms that are now forming. We should not give light attention to these new antagonisms, particularly those arising from within ethnic majority groups living next to ethnic minority villages. These antagonisms are quite complex despite the fact that they are antagonisms among the laboring people under the leadership of our party. The cause of building socialism nationwide demands that labor and population be redistributed among the different areas of the country and will, of necessity, bring ethnic Vietnamese to the Central Highlands, to the Mekong Delta and a number of other ethnic areas. The development of state farms, forestry sites, industrial enterprises and so forth will also bring about the relocation of some ethnic minority members. In this process, it is necessary to conduct a truly thorough educational effort and very carefully mold thinking in order to avoid disputes and antagonisms that might arise and reflect respect for the equality and right of ownership of the ethnic minorities.

In recent years, disputes within ethnic minority areas have generally arisen over the following issues: the issue of the residential land and farmland of ethnic minorities being infringed upon and they not being properly resettled elsewhere; the issue of using forest resources to live, which has not been resolved in an appropriate manner that conforms with reason and sentiment; the issue of written language, schools, curriculum and the training of ethnic minority cadres in localities heavily populated by ethnic Vietnamese; the issue of price and land rent differentials in ethnic areas... Besides these issues, bureaucracy, negative social phenomena, improper attitudes and treatment and the kinds of considerations identified with merchants also lead to disputes. Conversely, a feeling of inferiority, envy, the feeling of being isolated and a lack of openness also lead to misunderstandings and disputes.

Clearly, whatever the cause might be, things that reflect a lack of unity among ethnic groups are alien to the nationalities policy of our party and contrary to the thinking of Marxism-Leninism concerning the nationalities question.

In the present situation, particularly in view of the growing trend toward chauvinistic, nationalist thinking and bigoted nationalism in Southeast Asia and Asia and at a time when the enemy is intensifying their propaganda effort to divide the ethnic groups, it is even more necessary for us to be highly vigilant and fully practice the thinking that the nationalities issue is one of the issues of strategic importance of the Vietnamese revolution. Every manifestation of "big country" thinking as well as bigoted nationalism must be harshly criticized. At the same time, thorough studies must be conducted in order to correctly satisfy the legitimate interests and new needs arising in life in the ethnic minority areas.

Correctly resolving the nationalities question is a requirement in the nature of a principle in our people's socialist construction and defense of the fatherland. At the same time, this will have a good influence upon neighboring countries. Through the implementation of the complete equality and the right of collective ownership of the ethnic minorities in our country, the ethnic groups in neighboring countries will gain even greater confidence in the foreign policy of our party, will trust and respect the friendship among the ethnic groups within the region. Therefore, in addition to domestic objectives, resolving the nationalities question is also a matter of foreign policy significance.

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## THE APPLIED ARTS IN PRODUCTION AND SOCIAL LIFE TODAY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 75-78

[Article by Duong Huong Minh]

[Text] The applied arts are a special field of the fine arts. They are always closely associated with the production and life of man.

Even at the dawn of history, when fabricating tools, although these tools were very crude, man gave special attention to shaping these tools in a way that made them attractive and convenient to use.

As society has developed, art has been applied more widely in production and life. It has left an imprint in every aspect of life, in the food, clothing, shelter and transportation, in the social intercourse, relaxation and entertainment as well as in the labor, combat and studies of man. The hands and consciousness of the artist, or the applied artist, are evident everywhere. The concept of applied art, therefore, is very specific.

Within each country, the imprint of the applied arts on production and life is unique. When products become conveniences, are decorated and placed within a specific space, they create an aesthetic environment, one that reflects the tastes of the user. This feature has had a constant and strong impact upon the development of the variety of products. As a result, through the ages, many small industry and handicraft trades of many nationalities and countries have come into existence. Once created, the products of these trades have not only become increasingly sophisticated and attractive, but also become increasingly associated with a wide variety of different customs, religious beliefs and habits, one overlaying another. Therefore, art applied in life always reflects the separate and unique identity of each nationality and each region. From the production units of the traditional small industry and handicraft trades, industrial production emerged. The strong, rapid and widespread growth of industrial goods on a global scale became an important factor stimulating the broad development of the applied arts in both industry and small industry and the handicraft trades. With this, the applied arts assumed an important position in the socio-economic strategy of every country.

To more easily understand, study and evaluate them, the applied arts in our country today can be divided into four fields: handicraft arts; the industrial arts; commercial drawing; and environmental aesthetics.

Of the major forms of the applied arts, the strongest in our country today is the arts of small industry and the handicraft trades.

For many years now, there has been an interest in restoring and developing these trades. These trades were originally the outgrowth of small-scale production and have their roots in the traditional subsistent way of life. Consequently, the process of supporting and expanding these trades over the past several years, in addition to small industry and handicraft units in the cities and towns, has also taken place to a rather large extent at agricultural cooperatives. These trades meet needs of laboring people in all localities of the country. At the same time, they make full use of local labor, particularly youths, provide jobs and help many persons find a stable occupation. They have also been contributing an increasingly large volume of export goods. Their strength lies in being one of our country's important sources of exports. Specific evidence of this is the fact that, in 1985, in Ho Chi Minh City alone, the small industry and handicraft trades delivered 11.6 billion dong worth of products to the state (78.85 percent of the value of their total output) and produced 2 billion dong in exports (32.13 percent more than planned). However, the basic limitation of this sector is a lack of interest in applying aesthetics on the basis of carrying on and building upon national traditions with a view toward supporting a leap forward in product quality. The practice of keeping the old, original pattern "in tact" for many years and this inertia are rather widely seen in the various types of lacquerware paintings, embroider and lace goods, ivory carvings, pearl inlays, horn carvings...

Industrial art is formed on the basis of industrial production. An advanced country always has a developed industry and a corresponding level of development of industrial aesthetics. To apply industrial aesthetics, production lines and the various stages of production must be highly specialized. In those countries in which the economy and science are developed, countries where the needs of the people are complex and diverse, an even higher level of industrial aesthetics is required.

Industrial art mainly entails the creation of industrial form and shape. In recent years, our country's industry has introduced a rather wide variety of products. However, appropriate attention is still not being given to aesthetics in industry. The majority of our attention is focused on technology and production lines. Importance has not been attached to aesthetics in the creation of form and shape, the arrangement of mass and the development of patterns, which is the first step in the production of products. There is still a feeling of inferiority, of not having confidence in our own aesthetic standards. Thus, more often than not, we simply copy the patterns and models of foreign countries.

Every product, be it a handicraft product or an industrial product, must meet three standards: economic, scientific and artistic. A product that is well received by large numbers of consumers is a product which meets these three

standards. In history, some products have become art (in its broad sense) and are displayed and preserved in museums because they typify the aesthetic tastes of a nation and bear the imprint of an age.

Thus, one matter which is very clear is the need to always give appropriate attention to the industrial arts because they are one of the factors of product quality and are of vital importance from the standpoint of whether or not a product can continue to be produced.

Closely associated with product quality is commercial graphic art (in labels and packaging). It is the applied art that is receiving the least attention in our country. This rather serious problem can be easily rectified. Partly because "supply" is not meeting "demand," consumers must buy the goods on the market even if their quality is not good or their labels are unattractive and their packaging is poor. On the other hand, this problem is also due to the fact that businessmen are apprehensive about the additional expense and maintain that there really is no need to solve this problem. This attitude creates a formidable barrier. The foreign trade sector has begun to attach importance to the labeling and packaging of export goods. But the quality of labels and packaging still lags behind modern advances in commercial graphic art in the world, perhaps because the supply of materials and printing capacity are still limited. This is rather clearly evident in the packaging and labeling of our canned fruit, meat, fish, milk and other products. World commerce came to the realization long ago that packaging and labeling are an integral part of consumer and export goods. In addition to protecting and identifying the contents, packaging and labeling are also a cultural product which provides commercial information of great interest to the customer.

Environmental aesthetics is the combined form of the applied arts. It is based on the following factors: natural geography, historical circumstances, national psychology and the social system. Environmental aesthetics, therefore, usually bear the separate imprint of each nation and must be consistent with the purposes for which they are applied. The environmental aesthetics of the East differ from those of the West. The environmental aesthetics of the mountain region differ from those of the lowland and coastal regions. Interior environmental aesthetics in the countryside differ from those in the cities. Meeting halls are different than clubs. Enterprises are not the same as agencies, etc.

In the advanced countries, applying environmental aesthetics to create, among other things, environments for man's play, entertainment, recreation and relaxation, environments to improve man's health and establish ecological balance, has become a national policy.

In our country, due to difficult economic and living conditions, we continue to give little attention to environmental aesthetics. From the home environment of the individual family to the environment of collective housing, from the public environment at places such as squares and parks to the environment of the traffic on roads, the environment at schools, clubs, theaters and so forth...there are a lack of order, a lack of sanitation and crowding everywhere. And, we are not talking here about places far away. One need only take a look at the capital Hanoi to see that the problems of

environmental aesthetics has reached alarming proportions. Viewed from an overall and general perspective, it is clear that this is the capital of an agricultural country in which small-scale production still predominates. This can be seen everywhere you look. For example, next to a huge, newly finished architectural and cultural project is a main street along which nearly one entire sidewalk is being used as a parking place for the bicycles and motorbikes of the persons working at a large agency. At a spot in the heart of the city where a B-52 "Stratofortress" of the U.S. imperialists was shot down, a spot that should be the hallowed ground of a monument to revolutionary heroism, a shabby, little stand has sprung up! Along several main highways in the center of the capital, it is quite common to see a pile of bricks here, a pile of sand there or even empty shipping crates that were discarded after the machines in them were taken away. Then, there are people holding markets, selling beverages, repairing bicycles and so forth at various places right on the sidewalk. At collective housing projects, all sorts of thoughtless, slovenly practices take place, some permitted, some not permitted and some of which are very rarely seen in the advanced industrial countries.

In practice, the applied arts are not being given full attention in our country. Consequently, they are not meeting the requirements of production and everyday life and have not kept pace with the revolutionary change occurring within the economy. This situation is the result of many factors, most importantly the fact that an appreciation of the special position and role and the importance of the applied arts has not been thoroughly reflected in the thinking of responsible agencies. In fact, a correct concept of the function of Vietnam's modern applied arts is not to be found even within cultural and artistic circles. The applied arts are limited in their scope to artistic decoration and uses in everyday life. Their position within the fine arts is second to painting and sculpting.

The applied arts, the backbone of which is industrial aesthetics or modeling, must be organically tied to the technical sciences in the process of their application in production on the basis of employing the latest achievements and the most advanced methods of these sciences.

In the world, the modern industrial arts have undergone enormous changes during the past 5 decades. These changes have come with the emergence of the "design" approach to the industrial arts. The "design" approach was introduced in 1950. "Design" means creation of a conceptual drawing--technical design--development of a model. This leads to test manufacture and then to mass production. The "design" approach demands that those who manage and guide production first have a thorough grasp of the intended function and use of a product. Once this requirement has been met, the artist creates a conceptual drawing and the engineer designs the physical structure of the product and its manufacturing technology. Then, they join with technical design workers to develop a model and carry out test production. From the outset until the sample becomes a product, the artist works closely with the other persons in the three member "artist-engineer-technical worker" team. Their goal is products that are constantly improved, are always new, thus creating a sense of anticipation and a desire for the product on the part of the customer.

Our guideline today must be to develop a system of applied arts that is both national and modern in nature. The character of products must be both national and modern at the same time. If we only give attention to the national aspect of the characteristics of products, our products will easily become conservative, stagnant and commonplace. Conversely, if attention is only given to making them modern, products will easily become half-native-half-foreign and lose their identity. The national and modern aspects of the applied arts must be expressed in a general, intrinsic and subtle way by arranging the mass and making the shapes, forms and colors of products and utensils compatible with the psychology and tastes of people today.

The applied arts are a rather broad and important field. To put the applied arts into practice and effectively support production and everyday life, we suggest:

--We should establish a specialized state organization called the Vietnam Institute of Applied Arts or the Vietnam Institute of Industrial Arts directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers to provide unified management and guidance nationwide.

--We should establish applied arts councils on two levels, the central and local levels, to promptly examine and quickly approve product designs and samples from the standpoint of the two requirements of serving domestic and export needs.

--We should rapidly promulgate positions of the party and procedures, policies and regulations of the state concerning the specialized sector that is the applied arts in order to manage and stabilize the different trades that make up this sector and encourage creativity and production.

--We should replan the specialized applied arts training system in each area and nationwide. We should re-examine its functions and tasks and redefine its objectives in order to unify its management.

7809

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RECALLING THE DAYS THAT BROUGHT UNCLE HO FROM THAILAND TO BUILD THE BASE OF  
THE REVOLUTION IN LAOS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 79-82

[Article by Nguyen Tai as told to The Tap]

[Text] As a member of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, I was put in charge of our overseas compatriots in Sakon Province, which consists of Savang, Phanann and Nake Districts. Mr. Chin (the name used by Uncle Ho while conducting activities in Thailand) visited the province on many different occasions. Once, he visited Ubon Province, where many overseas Vietnamese working as merchants, masons and carpenters lived. From Ubon, I accompanied Mr. Chin down to Phimun District some 50 kilometers from Ubon City by highway. We, however, travelled by boat down the Mun River (which flows down to Phimun and then empties into the Mekong River). When we arrived in Phimun, we visited the home of an overseas Vietnamese family. After questioning and evaluating them, Mr. Chin made the following observation about the family: the father was not a good person because he exploited others to trade but the child and grandchild could be enlightened. After careful consideration, Mr. Chin said to me: "The grandchild is a good person. Perhaps a way can be found to bring him into the Union. The young man, on the other other hand, is obstinate and must be educated if he is to be brought into the organization at some later date." He stressed: "We need to establish a base of ours here in order to open a communications and liaison channel between here and Pakxe in Laos." Assigning this job to me, Mr. Chin then expressed the desire to go to Laos and asked:

--"Ve, have you become acquainted with anyone in Pakxe yet?"

--"I have made the acquaintance of a policeman. Although he is a policeman, he is a proud person and opposed to the French imperialists."

He asked:

--"How many times have you spoken with him?"

--"Only once," I replied.

Thinking for a moment, Mr. Chin again said that he wanted to go to Laos.

On the way back to Ubon from Phimun, he asked me:

--"How do we get to the Mekong River?"

--"Through Khu Lu District," I replied.

He said: "Let's go..."

So, we headed off in the direction of the Mekong River. It was June 1928. The rainy season had begun but it was not yet raining heavily. We travelled by canoe across the Mekong River from Thailand to Laos. We paid the paddler a handful of smoking tobacco. He preferred that to a few xu. It was noon when we arrived in Laos. Several Lao that we met asked what we were doing there and we responded with vague answers. They suspected nothing because we clearly gave the appearance of being persons who had come there to work. Mr. Chin was carrying a saw over his shoulder, a teapot in one hand and a measuring stick in the other. I was carrying a cloth bag containing a few tools, such as a trowel, a chisel and so forth. Each of us was wearing a black short-sleeved shirt and green pants like masons and carpenters wore.

In Thailand as well as Laos, although there were national highways, Mr. Chin preferred to take rural roads because, according to him, it was better to travel from village to village because you could learn about the life of the people and local customs and habits. Moreover, you could rest anywhere you wanted and, when hungry, could ask for food at a temple, which was less costly. As we walked along, Mr. Chin told me not to drink the water but to pick some leaves to chew on to relieve my thirst. As we walked, he talked about writing poetry.

Arriving in Savannakhet City (which lies across from the town of Mukdahan in Thailand), we passed by a police station, a military inspector's camp, the governor's residence... But Mr. Chin was very calm, natural and relaxed. He was not the least bit uneasy and acted as though he were a local citizen.

Whenever we reached a spot in the road where we were by ourselves, Mr. Chin talked about revolutionary work. Through his profound analysis of specific matters, he taught me the class view, the mass view and the view concerning labor.

We then came upon several Lao carrying chickens to market. Mr. Chin said to me:

--"Let's buy a chicken."

--"We don't have the money," I replied.

--"Go ahead and buy one, I have the money."

As he spoke, Mr. Chin took from his pocket an Indochina hao that he had set aside, when I do not know. At that time, the price of chicken had not yet reached 1 hao in Thailand or Laos.

Leaving the Savannakhet area, we headed toward northern Xieng Vang. In northern Xieng Vang, there were several overseas Vietnamese families and a Catholic church. I had travelled from Thailand to Xieng Vang once before to conduct propaganda and agitation work among the people there but had only managed to make contact with one overseas Vietnamese...

As we had planned, Mr. Chin then told me not to go to Xieng Vang but to cross the Mekong and return to Thailand instead. Fully aware of the principles of clandestine activities, I did not dare ask Mr. Chin why I could not remain in Laos. One hour later, we reached the sandbanks on the Thai side of the Mekong River. Somewhat tired, Chin took his pha-phe (a wide scarf used by the Lao and the Thai in place of trousers, used as a towel and as a blanket) and spread it on the sandbank. Then, he laid down to rest, a rock for his pillow. I boiled water and plucked the chicken for cooking. Mr. Chin told me to prepare it the way Mr. Nam did. Grilled chicken was just as tasty as grilled fish, he said. As he lay there, he said to me:

--"Now, Ve! Describe to me the loss of one's country and the suffering of the people."

Mr. Chin stopped talking so that I could write. I immediately recalled the lines in a poem by Tran Huu Luc: "The tricolor flag of Indochina. The more you see it, the more shame you feel. The more you talk about it, the more pain you feel!"

Borrowing from these lines, I wrote without difficulty. To say that I wrote is an exaggeration. I actually smoothed out a spot in the sand and scratched the words in the sand with a stick. I wrote:

"The country where the tricolor flag hangs  
It's people, beasts of burden!  
To look at them brings shame, to talk about them brings pain  
Orphans are they, these colonial subjects!"

Mr. Chin read my poem and praised it. He did, however, offer one comment: the words "where the tricolor flag hangs" suggest submission to the imperialists and should be replaced by the words "where the tricolor flag has been thrust into the ground."

We ate and rested on the sandbank until we had regained our strength. Then, Mr. Chin and I resumed walking toward Sakon. Along the way, every word and movement of Mr. Chin taught me something. I always remembered the sincere advice given to me by Mr. Chin during the years I spent working in Thailand and Laos and still remember them today.

Mr. Chin had to go to Udon immediately to inspect the results of a training class and speak with the trainees there. On the day he promised, he had a person deliver a letter to me in Sakon giving me the responsibility of taking

the persons who had been trained back to their country. Some were taken to Xieng Vang and down to Savannakhet and others were taken to Thakhet.

Next, I received a message from Mr.Chin instructing me to go to Udon and from there to Noong Khai. Noong Khai is a city on the Mekong River. We had a liaison station there in the home of a tailor named Luc. When I arrived, out behind the kitchen, I saw Mr.Chin sitting reading a report written in English. During the time I spent working with him in Thailand, I discovered that he had taught himself the Thai and Lao languages and was also studying English.

At the liaison station, I learned that Mr. Chin had convened a meeting to hear reports on every aspect of the situation in Laos and discuss the building of the base of the Lao revolution.

That night, a boat brought, Viet, Tin and som others to Noong Khai from Vientiane. Mr. Chin instructed Luc to tell the others to meet at the temple. When everyone from Laos had arrived, Mr. Chin told us to extinguish our lanterns so that persons looking in from the outside would mistakenly think that we were gambling.

He asked them about the economic, political, cultural and social situations and the relations among the classes in Laos; about the situation in Vientiane and how many youths, women, workers, peasants and merchants there were; about the living conditions of laborers; about the enemy situation and troops (where there Lao among these troops and what were they doing?)... Mr. Chin asked them about one thing after another. I had been to Vientiane, knew the situation there and was about to report on a few important aspects. But Mr. Chin caught my attention and motioned me to sit and listen to what the others had to say, fearing that they would only repeat what I had said and thus not freely express their own views. After rather fully assessing every aspect of the situation in Laos, Mr. Chin led the Lao in thoroughly discussing and adopting specific measures and plans for building the base of the Lao revolution. When discussing propagandizing, agitating and organizing the masses within mass organizations, he mentioned a Lao policeman from a peasant background who was patriotic, was against the imperialists and feudalists and could be propagandized, educated, challenged and then brought into the revolution's organization. Vietnamese who worked as police, however, could not be brought into the organization. I subsequently learned that Xa May the Lao policeman, had been enlightened, quit his job and joined the revolution.

During the period spent making preparations for founding a communist party in Indochina, particularly in 1928 and 1929, Mr. Chin was very interested in building a revolutionary base for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

When the meeting on building the base of the Lao revolution concluded, Mr. Chin gave each comrade very specific instructions concerning what to do upon their return. He stressed: "You must attach importance to organizing Lao youths."

#### FOOTNOTES

- \* Nguyen Tai, also known as Le Ngon and Ve (Ve was the alias used while active in Siam) was born in July 1896 in Vinh Duc Village (present day Lien Son Village) in Do Luong District, Nghe An Province (now Nghe Tinh Province).

In 1925 and 1926, Tai was active in Siam (Thailand). In 1927, he joined the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth. In 1930, he became a member of the Communist Party of Siam. In 1934, he became a member of the Indochina Aid Committee and served as a correspondent for the leadership committee of our party overseas headed by Le Hong Phong. In 1935, he was captured by the enemy and imprisoned, first at the Vinh Prison and then at the Buon Ma Thuot Prison. In 1945, he was released and returned to Nghe An to participate in the struggle for political power, serving as the vice chairman of the Nghe Tinh Provincial People's Committee. From 1946 to 1958, he worked in Laos. In 1958, he returned to Hanoi and joined the leadership of the Epidemiological Hygiene Institute (the Ministry of Public Health). In 1965, he retired in Hanoi.

During the time he spent in Thailand, Tai worked with Uncle Ho on five different occasions. In this article, Tai tells about the time in 1928 when he secretly took Uncle Ho from Thailand to Laos to assess the situation and prepare to build the base of the Lao revolution.

7809

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THE KRONG PA DISTRICT PARTY ORGANIZATION TIES PARTY BUILDING TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 83-88

[Article by Hoang Ba Bich]

[Text] Krong Pa, a district established in April 1976 that lies in southeastern Gia Lai-Kontum Province, measures nearly 193,000 hectares, of which approximately 43,000 hectares are agricultural land and the rest of which lies in forests, forest land and large grasslands. The district's population is 35,000, more than 60 percent of whom are members of the Gia-Rai ethnic group. The Krong Pa party organization has 26 basic party organizations with 431 members.

Prior to 1981, Krong Pa was known as a remote, poor and backward area in the mountainous forests where the party organization was chronically weak. Today, Krong Pa has become a rather bustling area as a result of its many fraternal ethnic groups joining together to build one of the best district party organizations in Gia Lai-Kontum Province.

This major change has been the result of the Krong Pa party organization gaining a thorough understanding of the lines and positions of the party and state, gaining a thorough understanding of the resolution of the 8th Congress of the Gia Lai-Kontum party organization, giving appropriate attention to party building and gradually tying party building to socio-economic development.

To begin with, on the basis of investigating, surveying and studying the locality's actual situation, the Krong Pa District Party Committee correctly defined and has successfully guided the implementation of political guidelines and tasks and the socio-economic development targets of the locality and considers these to be its objectives in party building.

In Krong Pa, natural conditions are relatively favorable and diverse: the district is not affected by major typhoons or intense cold weather. Rainfall is light but evenly distributed throughout the year. The climate is suited to many species of annual and perennial crops. The forests are rather large and contain many valuable forest products. The Ba, Ea Rsai, Krong Nang, Uar and other rivers carry large volumes of water and alluvium. There are many vast

grasslands of good quality. Generally speaking, the natural conditions of Krong Pa are very well suited for building and developing the economy within an agro-forestry-industrial structure.

In recent years, it has been the policy of the district party committee to focus efforts on developing the production of grain, with the aim of providing a full supply of grain to eat and establishing a grain reserve, in order to receive fellow countrymen coming from the lowlands to build new homes while developing the production of agricultural products with the aims of producing a large volume of agricultural commodities, rapidly increasing the formation of capital for the district and laying the groundwork for strengthening the national defense system and performing the two strategic tasks within the district. The 43,000 hectares of agricultural land within the district have been divided into two areas: a 16,000 hectare lowland area where efforts are being focused on developing the production of annual crops, such as rice, corn and tobacco, and a perennial crop, coconuts; and a 27,000 hectare highland area for annual crops consisting of cassava, tobacco and sesame and the perennial crop cashews. At the same time, importance has been attached to developing livestock production, particularly the raising of cattle, buffalo, hogs and poultry in the state-operated, collective and household segments of the economy.

To implement these production guidelines, the district party committee has been concentrating on guiding the settlement of nomads, having established this as the first step in building momentum for the next step to be taken. In 1983, drawing upon the experience gained in previous years, the district party committee put a number of competent and experienced comrades in charge of this work. It conducted pilot projects in the two hamlets of Thang and Lac (in the village of Phu Can and Ea Rmok). It also remolded the thinking of the masses, established a required amount of land per house and encouraged the people to live in separate homes or move to other locations and establish household gardens. As a result, in only 3 months, the district settled 583 families consisting of 3,861 persons in 12 hamlets. In early 1984, building upon this victory, the district party committee sent all the key leadership cadres of the district and 10 villages to visit, study the experience of and sign emulation pledges at Lac Hamlet. It launched a settlement of nomads campaign among the people and stabilized an additional 29 hamlets consisting of 1,346 families with 8,338 persons. Today, all the villages within the district have virtually completed the settlement of nomads. More than 90 percent of households have established gardens. Families have planted 13,500 coconut trees, tens of thousands of cashew trees and hundreds of hectares of tobacco and sesame. The success of this work has put an end to the long practiced nomadic lifestyle of the citizens of Krong Pa, laid the foundation for building the collective economy and the new countryside and caused the emergence of a garden economy in the life of the ethnic minorities.

Along with the settlement of nomads campaign, it has also been the policy of the district party committee that the district must overcome its difficulties and organize well the receiving of fellow countrymen arriving from other provinces to build new villages. The district party committee maintains that this is a strategic measure that is very consistent with the locality's circumstances, one which combines local strength with new strength arriving

from other places and creates a combined strength in order to develop each potential and carry out socio-economic development. Through organized studies, the district party committee has given the cadres, party members and people of the district a clear understanding of the significance of this work. It is a way to help carry out the redistribution of labor nationwide and implement the policy of our party on unity among the fraternal ethnic groups. At the same time, it is also in the interest of the development of the district, of the ethnic groups in Krong Pa. During the 2 years 1984 and 1985, through the efforts of the district together with the assistance of the upper level and Thai Binh Province, Krong Pa received 2,165 families consisting of 9,962 persons from Thai Binh coming to build new villages.

To help strengthen the unity between ethnic Vietnamese and Montagnards, solve some of the difficulties stemming from the shortage of party members and cooperative management cadres, narrow the gap between the Gia-rai and the ethnic Vietnamese in every area of development and develop the collective economy in the correct direction, the Krong Pa District Party Committee, along with performing the jobs mentioned above, has made the innovation of organizing brotherhoods between members of the local ethnic groups and the fellow countrymen arriving in the district. It selected Thua, Dung and Lao Hamlets for a brotherhood with fellow countrymen from Dong Hung in order to establish the Chu Dong Cooperative. Then, Duc Hamlet and Bat Hamlet established brotherhoods with fellow countrymen from Kien Xuong and Thai Thuy to establish the Chu Thai Cooperative... By this method, many cooperatives have been established in Ea Siem, Phu Can, Ea Rsai and other villages and good results have been achieved in Krong Pa.

Clearly aware of the importance of the transformation of production relations in the mountains, the district party committee has been guiding basic units in establishing agricultural cooperatives while also establishing marketing cooperatives and credit cooperatives on the same scale. To date, the district has established 23 agricultural cooperatives, 10 of which are brotherhood cooperatives, consisting of 3,389 farm families with 7,316 laborers and representing 51 percent of the households and 50 percent of the agricultural labor of the district.

Secondly, efforts to strengthen and build the basic organizations of the party have been closely tied to the performance of the political task of each basic unit.

On the basis of correctly defining socio-economic development guidelines and tasks, the Krong Pa District Party Committee has adopted the policy that the building of the party must be carried out well and be tied to the performance of the locality's political tasks. Five years ago, nearly 70 percent of the basic organizations of the party in Krong Pa District were weak and deficient, many of which were very weak. Some party chapters went for 6 or 7 months without conducting activities or only conducted loosely organized activities that served no practical purpose. Some party members failed to pay their party dues for 2 or 3 years. A number of cadres were alcoholics, were engaged in illicit relationships with members of the opposite sex and had lost all prestige in the eyes of the masses. Some party members had lost their will to fight, were pessimistic and discouraged and asked to retire or go on



disability. More than a few party members had violated the party's code of discipline. This situation seriously affected the leadership role and the fighting strength of the party and made it impossible to guarantee the performance of the locality's political tasks. The district party committee decided: it is necessary to attach importance to strengthening and building the basic organizations of the party, particularly to educating, forging and improving the quality of the corps of party members, and closely tie efforts to strengthen and build the party to the performance of political tasks.

The district party committee closely guided a re-evaluation and classification of the basic organizations of the party and the classification of party members. The reasons for the weaknesses and deficiencies of each basic organization were clearly determined and appropriate corrective measures were adopted. The district party committee assisted those basic organizations that were weak and deficient because they had not yet established production and socio-economic development guidelines in conducting investigations and surveys and formulating production guidelines. It provided additional cadres to or replaced the cadres of the basic organizations that were weak and deficient because they lacked cadres or their cadres were incompetent. The district party committee helped those basic organizations that were weak and deficient due to difficult production conditions to invest in material-technical bases. It selected a number of basic organizations that were experiencing the greatest difficulties as sites for pilot projects in order to gain experience and directly guide efforts to build and strengthen other basic organizations. At the same time, it attached importance to propagandizing and publicizing good experiences and lessons gained and learned at strong, solid and pure basic organizations for other basic organizations to examine and study.

To increase the strength of basic organizations, the district party committee assigned 70 additional leadership cadres and specialized technical cadres to 10 basic organizations and sent a number of members of its executive committee and standing committee down to directly serve as party chapter and basic party organization secretaries or to observe and guide key villages or individual clusters of villages. The district party committee has also guided the formulation of work rules and regulations and requires that all offices, sections and basic organizations operate in accordance with these rules and regulations. Full importance has been attached to conducting inspections, both inspections conducted by the district party committee and inspections of basic organizations by each other. Importance has also been attached to assisting the various offices, sections and basic organizations in formulating leadership programs backed by monthly, quarterly and annual inspections. Each month, the district party committee organizes news conferences on party building within each cluster of basic organizations, thereby enabling basic organizations to learn about one another and study one another's experiences.

In the process of strengthening and building the basic organizations of the party, the Krong Pa District Party Committee has attached full importance to strengthening party chapters, improving the quality of the corps of party members and improving the leadership ability and fighting strength of the party chapters, particularly those that directly lead production units or agricultural cooperatives. The district party committee has held a number of training classes at basic organizations and on the district level to provide

training in the theory and practice of leadership and economic management to party chapter secretaries. On the other hand, it has acted with determination to replace party chapter secretaries who lacked the necessary personal qualities and skills. The district party committee has guided party chapters in assigning jobs to party members. It requires that each party member undertake a few jobs, each based on his skills and circumstances. The extent to which the assigned political task is completed is the measurement of the qualities and abilities of the party member. At the same time, the management of party members and the party activity policies of party chapters are routinely inspected. The district party committee has also been guiding party chapters in expelling unqualified members from the party and training activists outside the party for acceptance into the party.

The district party committee has attached special importance to developing the party and building its organization at places where there are no party members by selecting local persons from within mass movements for training and acceptance into the party or transferring party members from other places. Through these positive measures, the work of strengthening and building the basic organizations of the party and improving the quality of party members in Krong Pa District has gradually been put on a regular basis. Whereas the district had only 17 basic organizations of the party with 207 members in 1983, it had 26 basic organizations of the party with 431 members in 1985. In 1983, 45.6 percent of the district's basic organizations of the party were recognized as solid, strong, pure and above average. By 1985, this figure had risen to 88 percent and not one basic organization was weak or deficient. In 1985, 97.4 percent of party members were found to be fully qualified and received party membership cards, an increase of nearly 25 percent over 1983. At present, there are party members in 48 percent of the district's hamlets.

Thirdly, the district has actively trained and assigned cadres, particularly key cadres, on the basis of political guidelines and tasks and in accordance with planning.

The difficulties and complex problems encountered in performing political tasks, carrying out socio-economic development, maintaining security and strengthening national defense forces in Krong Pa have demanded that the district have a corps of cadres of sufficient size and guaranteed quality. However, during the first years following the establishment of the district, Krong Pa's corps of cadres only met a portion of the requirements involved in the performance of political tasks. There was a shortage of cadres in all fields and at all basic units. Cadres were weak in many areas, particularly in leadership, management and specialized technical skills. Moreover, such negative phenomena as bribery, embezzlement of public property, suppression of the masses, factionalism that caused a loss of internal unity...spread within the corps of cadres and had a major effect upon economic, cultural and social development, the maintenance of security and the strengthening of national defense forces.

With the assistance of the Organization Department of the provincial party committee, the district party committee re-examined the corps of cadres, formulated cadre planning and gradually began training cadres in accordance with this planning. The district's planning of cadre training is oriented

primarily toward supporting economic development and the strengthening of basic units. The district party committee has also been utilizing the cadres and party members coming to the district to build new villages. Through the production and combat movements at basic units, outstanding persons have been selected for training. A plan has been adopted requesting the province to assign additional cadres to the district, particularly specialized technical cadres. On the basis of its planning, the district party committee has been sending key cadres of the district and basic units to party schools and economic schools of the central and provincial levels for many different forms of training, such as long-term training, short-term training, on-the-job training and so forth. At the same time, it has opened on the district level and at basic units economic management training classes for production collective and cooperative cadres. During the past several years, the district has sent 32 comrades to classes of the central and provincial levels for training. It has trained 200 cadres locally, more than 40 percent of whom are Gia-rai cadres. In 1985, the district held local training classes for 148 production collective and cooperative cadres and 50 basic level general school teachers. The district has also taken stern action against dozens of cadres who have committed disciplinary infractions, thereby helping to increase the fighting strength of the corps of cadres.

On the basis of the requirements of the tasks of building the economy and strengthening national defense forces, the district party committee has gradually improved the way it assigns and utilizes cadres and gradually discontinued the practice of assigning cadres mainly on the basis of their background and not in accordance with the requirements of tasks. Efforts have been made to assign cadres in a manner consistent with the actual situation and the capabilities of cadres, with priority given to key economic sectors, important areas and weak and deficient basic units. Attention has been given to combining, in a sensible way, the various strata of cadres and the different types of cadres from different ethnic backgrounds. The apparatus has gradually been restructured and the organization of people's committees from the district to the basic levels has gradually been strengthened as have the sections and sectors in charge of the economy and the mass organizations. The socio-economic centers of Le Bac, Ea Siem and Chau Don Lac and the key cooperatives of Chu Dong, Phu Thai, Thang Loi I, Thang Loi II...have been strengthened by the district through the assignment of dozens of additional leadership cadres and many specialized technical cadres in the fields of crop production, livestock production, the processing of forest products, etc.

The district party committee has also attached importance to managing and educating cadres in order to put this work on a regular basis. Through various phases of study, the district party committee has helped cadres to grasp the views and lines of the party, attain a higher sense of responsibility, achieve a higher spirit of revolutionary vigilance, become more dynamic and creative and implement work policies well: the accountability policy, the discipline policy, the policy on protecting public property and the policy on serving the people. At the same time, it has directed the attention of the various sections, sectors and basic units to closely inspect cadres, listen to the people's criticisms of cadres and promptly bring to light and put an end to negative phenomena within the corps of cadres. The district party committee regularly inspects the corps of

cadres, examines the transfer and promotion of cadres and maintains strict cadre discipline.

As a result of having a correct understanding of the jobs described above and performing them well, the Krong Pa party organization has tied the building of the party to socio-economic development in recent years, thereby truly making party building the decisive factor guaranteeing the successful performance of political tasks within the locality.

On the socio-economic front, Krong Pa has recorded a number of encouraging initial results. In 1984, the total value of the district's agricultural, forestry and industrial output reached 54 million dong, a two-fold increase compared to 1981. The value of goods sold to the state reached nearly 32 million dong, an increase of more than 7 million dong. In 1984, total grain output reached 12,744 tons, an increase of 3,857 tons over 1983. The district's average rice yield in 1984 was 38.4 quintals per hectare, an increase of 18.4 quintals per hectare over 1983. In 1985, sesame output and tobacco output exceeded the plan by 220 percent and 250 percent. In 1985, the district had 15,901 head of buffalo and cattle, an increase of 3,245 head compared to 1983, and 14,337 hogs, an increase of 7,074. In 1985, Krong Pa delivered to the state under its obligations 1,000 tons of paddy, 30 percent more than in 1983; 840 tons of sesame, an increase of 289 tons; and 159 tons of tobacco, 110 tons more than in 1983. As regards forestry, in 1984, the amount of area newly planted with forests increased by 400 percent and timber output increased by 50 percent compared to 1983.

Many changes have also occurred in the political and social situations in Krong Pa. Corrupt customs have been curbed. Epidemics have been prevented. Schools and medical aid stations have been built in practically all villages. Socialist law is gradually taking root among the people. In particular, the people have appropriately punished reactionaries, gradually eradicated FULRO and maintained political security and social order and safety well.

However, in the course of its struggle and growth, the Krong Pa party organization has also committed many shortcomings and mistakes. In particular, we remain confused about how to tie party building to socio-economic development. The leadership provided by the district party committee has not been comprehensive nor has it brought about strong and well coordinated development on the economic and social fronts. The role being played by basic organizations, by the various sections and sectors is still limited. The corps of cadres has not been augmented or trained in accordance with the plan in order to keep pace with the demands of the locality's actual situation...

Under the light of the resolutions of the Party Central Committee, under the direct leadership of the Gia Lai-Kontum Provincial Party Committee and in the new spirit that has emerged following the self-criticism and criticism campaign and the preparations for the party congress, the Krong Pa District

party organization is leading the people in an effort to overcome the difficulties we face, determined to make Krong Pa a prosperous and strong district in the Central Highlands of the fatherland.

7809

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## PRODUCTION IN DUY TIEN AND SOME SUGGESTIONS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 89-93

[Article by Nguyen Van My, secretary of the Duy Tien District Party Committee]

[Text] During the past several years, in keeping with the party's line on economic development in the initial stage of the period of transition, the party organization and people of Duy Tien District, Ha Nam Ninh Province, have made many efforts to move ahead and carry out economic construction and development tasks.

In agricultural production, despite losses due to natural disasters during three seasons, the district's average rice yield during the past 3 years (1983-1985) was still 59.19 quintals per hectare per year (an 8.86 quintal per hectare increase over the average for the 3 previous years). Total grain output averaged 40,096 tons per year. In addition to achieving self-sufficiency in grain, we have also fulfilled obligations to the state (at the annual rate of 7,653 tons of grain, 580 tons of meat, tens of thousands of tons of sugarcane, jute, raw silk, silkworm cocoons...). Compared to the previous 3 years, all targets on grain, food products, buffalo, cattle, hogs, chickens and the amount of area under the cultivation of industrial crops were higher. The volume of agricultural products sold to the state also increased (grain by 30 percent, food products by 12 percent and industrial crops by 10-15 percent). At present, Duy Tien District's industrial production accounts for 21 percent of the total value of agricultural and industrial output. Exports have reached 40 million dong per year, a four-fold increase compared to the average during the 3 previous years.

The above mentioned results are due to many different reasons. However, the most clearly evident are the following several: first, the party organization and people of Duy Tien District have gained a thorough understanding of the party's line on developing a diversified agriculture and focused their investments on building material-technical bases in order to develop production, most importantly agricultural production.(1) Secondly, investments have been made in the intensive cultivation of grain crops, most importantly rice. At the same time, we have boldly implemented a policy of setting aside 10 to 15 percent of farmland for the cultivation of industrial and export crops. As a result, we have created local sources of materials with which to develop small industry and handicraft production of domestic

consumer goods and export goods, thereby gradually establishing an agro-industrial economic structure. Thirdly, we have intensified our export activities and made the exportation of agricultural products and handicraft art products the leading edge of economic development. As a result, the district has rather large sources of foreign currency, has created the ability to balance and obtain what it needs for its plan on its own and has acquired many additional agricultural materials needed for stockpiles and to promptly meet the requirements of production.(2)

Looking back over the realities of production during the past several years, we see that, besides the results that have been achieved, there are still many shortcomings that must be corrected: the district subsidiary food crop production has not truly been stable in recent years; the production of sugarcane, a main industrial crop, has declined in terms of both the amount of area under cultivation and output; the hog herd, although exceeding the norm on meat output, has yet to meet the norms of the plan on the number of hogs being raised; the allocation of crops and livestock has been improved slowly and does not meet production requirements; an agro-industrial economic structure is being formed slowly; in some villages, the people are still encountering difficulties in their daily lives, etc.

In the years ahead, to meet the requirements of developing the economy and stabilizing the standard of living of the people of the district, we must continue to focus our efforts on developing a diversified agriculture, beginning by rapidly increasing the output of grain, food products and export goods. We must intensify the construction of material-technical bases and apply scientific-technical advances in production. We must continue to improve the product contract mechanism within agriculture and industry, constantly strengthen socialist production relations and gradually stabilize and improve the standard of living of cadres, the armed forces and the laboring people. We must fulfill obligations to the state and accumulate capital...

As regards production, our targets for 1988 are: an average rice yield of 65-67 quintals per hectare; 450-500 kilograms of grain, 18 kilograms of pork, 4 kilograms of poultry and 2.5 kilograms of fish per capita; 116.3 million dong in industrial output (accounting for 30 percent of the total value of agricultural-industrial output); and 93 million dong in export goods (calculated at plan directed prices of the province for 1986).

Our guidelines for meeting the above targets are: in crop production, we will continue to make strong investments in water conservancy with the aim of providing effective irrigation and drainage for the 5th month-spring season and alleviate waterlogging during the 10th month season. Investments must focus on intensive cultivation, on applying scientific-technical advances in production and providing a well coordinated supply of seed, fertilizer and pesticides to insure implementation of the policies: establishing a high yield rice growing area within the district, establishing fields or plots of high yield rice at each cooperative and production unit, making the winter a main season... In livestock production, we must concentrate on resolving the breeding stock, feed and veterinary problems with the aims of rapidly increasing the size of the draft buffalo and cattle herd, strongly developing

the hog herd and poultry flocks and, in particular, rapidly developing the industrial chicken flock and eventually reaching the point where the livestock production sector, as well as the crop production sector, produces products for exportation. In small industry and handicraft production, the main focus of our efforts must continue to be establishing stable local sources of raw materials, reorganizing production at enterprises and within the units of the trade sector at agricultural cooperatives, strengthening material-technical bases, promoting good management practices, economic accounting and the use of product contracts at basic production units... The measure that must be taken to increase our exports is to continue to allocate 10 to 15 percent of farmland to the cultivation of industrial and export crops. Efforts must be made to bring 100 percent of cooperatives into the production of export goods. We must improve the terms of the economic contracts between foreign trade corporations and basic production units and adopt policies that are more specific in order to provide incentive for each basic unit and each family to participate in the production of exports...

We realize that whether or not we implement the guidelines and measures and meet the targets presented above depends mainly upon the efforts made by the party organization and people of Duy Tien. However, effective assistance from the state is very important and extremely necessary. Therefore, we make the following several suggestions:

1. The Policy on Investments in the Construction of Material-Technical Bases for Agriculture.

--Having begun our development on the basis of lowlying fields, we have learned practical lessons that have given us an understanding of the position and role of water conservancy in agricultural production in the fields of Duy Tien. For the past several decades, we have been focusing efforts on the construction of water conservancy projects. However, we still have not solved the problem of waterlogging (with 200 milliliters of rain, 30 percent of the 10th month crop is lost, with 300 milliliters, 60 to 70 percent of the 10th month crop is damaged). Therefore, to drain fields during the 10th month season in Duy Tien, we suggest that the central level try to immediately invest in the construction of an electric pump station at Lac Trang (the district will perform the necessary excavation work and request some funding in the form of foreign currency). We suggest that the state sell to the district some cement, iron, steel, wood and electrical materials and equipment so that we can build a 3,600 kva transformer station in Tien Hiep Village and, at the same time, repair some damaged water conservancy projects (with the district providing capital and labor).

--We have tractor stations and units supporting agricultural production but the majority of tractors are old or in need of repair. Production units usually have to buy the parts they need on the "black market" at very high prices, which causes the prices of agricultural services to rise. Therefore, we suggest that the state give its attention to importing some spare parts for the various types of machinery commonly found on the district level (primarily tractors and water pumps) and distribute these parts in accordance with a plan to districts, thereby making it possible for basic production units to put all the machinery they now have to use. It is our thinking that, in view of



current conditions, such investments in agriculture will rapidly provide localities with practical returns.

--Another problem with which the state must concern itself is the fact that while the majority of districts once had seed stations and farms supporting agricultural production, very few of these units are in operation now and those that are in operation are not, in practical terms, meeting the requirements of production. Is the fact that district seed stations and farms do not exist because seed production is usually not profitable, because the state has "dismantled state subsidies" too rapidly or because of poor organizational and management skills plus a lack of appropriate concern on the part of the upper level? Due to their importance, district seed stations and farms are considered the "factories producing the engines" of agriculture. Therefore, it is suggested that the state make investments and adopt specific policies designed to enable seed production units to operate normally. In our opinion, an appropriate percentage of the investments made in agriculture in the years ahead should be made in seed production. Paying "necessary subsidies" to the seed stations and farms operating on the various levels might also be an effective and rapid way to invest in agricultural production.

## 2. The Price Policy in Agriculture

In recent years, we have often heard many questions being asked by basic production units and farmers concerning the prices in agriculture, particularly the agricultural product procurement prices. And, in practice under production conditions such as those that exist in our province, the procurement prices set by the state for paddy and industrial crops are much lower than the production costs that must be met by farmers first. On the other hand, when executing economic contracts, the materials provided by the state are usually supplied late (not to mention the fact that they are supplied in inadequate quantities and are not of good quality). Therefore, collectives and farmers generally must spend their own capital (sometimes borrowing money from the bank and paying interest) to buy materials at high prices on the free market in order to carry out production. However, when the state procures their products, it still pays for them at the price set forth in the plan or in the original contract. Therefore, cooperatives and farmers incur losses resulting from the difference between actual production costs and the procurement prices of the state. When crop failures occur, this difference is even larger. It has actually occurred that the more agricultural products a cooperative sells to the state, the more the funds of the collective become depleted. The conversion prices now being paid for agricultural products outside the plan are also unreasonable. The agricultural product prices set by the state are lower than the prices on the free market but the prices of industrial goods are at least equal to or higher than market prices, which has created a readily apparent "inequity" that is difficult for farmers to accept (one shirt equals 30 to 50 kilograms of paddy or 1.5 quintals of paddy equal one thermos bottle). As regards industrial crops (such as sugarcane, jute, mulberries and so forth), in addition to the fact that procurement and supply prices have become unreasonable, appropriate attention is not being given to investing in the production of each industrial crop used as a raw material. Consider, for example, the production of sugarcane in our district. It is something in which farmers are not

"interested" because it does not yield returns. It also holds no "interest" for district cadres. Because, for many years now, instead of making additional investments, Duy Tien has had to invest millions of dong annually in the repair of roads. Yet, after only one season of sugarcane procurements by the Van Diem Sugar Mill, the roads of the district were in as bad a condition as they were before they were repaired. Thus, there is no reason for farmers or the leadership cadres of the district, except for the sake of the district's political task, to want to raise sugarcane for sale to the state? It is clear that the procurement prices paid for agricultural products have not been consistent with the realities of production because they do not combine the interests of the state, the collective and the individual farmer in a way that is well balanced. Consequently, we suggest that the state re-examine and adjust procurement prices and adopt investment policies that are consistent with each type crop and species of livestock now being raised. In our opinion, these policies must be based on the realities of production and guarantee that the interests of the producer will be met in all elements of the production process. As regards export crops, because there are many difficulties in production and because exports are dependent upon the requirements of the foreign market, in order for the laborer to engage in production with a feeling of confidence and not suffer losses due to the cancellation of contracts by foreign trade corporations (as has happened in the case of garlic, lotus and other crops), we suggest that the state adopt an insurance policy for export crops. On the other hand, together with the export bonuses currently being paid to villages, districts and provinces, we suggest that bonuses also be paid through procurement prices in order to provide direct incentive for producers to actively produce export goods.

### 3. The Management and Distribution of Agricultural Materials

In the recent past, the following phenomenon has been common on the rural market: strategic agricultural materials, instead of being supplied in accordance with production plans of the state, are traded for agricultural products by many sectors and corporations that do not have a supply or procurement function. Conversely, many "customers" who have these materials are taking them to the countryside to buy certain agricultural products from farmers. And, in practice, not only do we see both agricultural products and materials being bought and resold, there is also competition in the procurement and sale of agricultural products at whatever prices seem fit. This lax management of materials and free flow of materials into agriculture are not in accordance with the plan, do not meet the requirements of production and exacerbate the state of imbalance among areas. Therefore, we suggest that the state unify the management of materials (all imported materials must be included in the balance) and supply the materials that have been included in the balance in accordance with the production plans of each district and production unit. In our opinion, these materials must be supplied in advance or at least before the start of the production season for each crop.

--For the next several years, a two-price system (prices within the plan and prices outside the plan) can continue to be used. However, when trading goods, instead of only trading goods of one type for goods of another, we should convert them both to value so that calculations can be made easily. As

regards exported agricultural products, we suggest that the state unify the management of the procurement price of each type product (taking into consideration the differential between one area and another). In our opinion, the state's monopoly of foreign trade does not mean that the state only manages exports and imports exclusively, but also exclusively manages the domestic procurement prices of the various types of products exported and the selling prices of imports in a way that is reasonable. Only in this way can it actively contribute to stabilizing the market and prices, restoring order in distribution and circulation and insuring that production and trade are carried out normally in accordance with the laws that apply in the process of production and reproduction.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. During the 3 years from 1983 to 1985, the district constructed 12 electric pump stations and one 1,800 kva transformer station and purchased 10 large tractors. Compared to the 3 previous years, the amount of capital invested in water conservancy increased three-fold as did the value of the fixed assets within the production sector.
2. From 1983 to 1985, by means of foreign currency earned through exports, the district acquired two to three times more means of production and agricultural materials outside the plan than it did during the 3 preceding years, which greatly contributed to the construction of material-technical bases at the cooperatives within the district.

7809

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## THE ADVANCE OF A SUBURBAN DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 94-98

[Article by Luong Ngoc Cu, secretary of the Gia Lam District Party Committee]

[Text] Gia Lam, a district that lies in the eastern outskirts of Hanoi, measures 175 square kilometers and has 8,600 hectares of farmland, 44,400 agricultural laborers and 5,656 laborers in the trade sector. As part of the municipality's food belt, our district mainly produces food products, export crops... During the past several years, despite the country's many economic difficulties and repeated natural disasters, the party organization and people of our district, under the direct leadership of the municipal party committee, have focused their efforts and won important victories.

Our district has made a number of advances in agricultural production: in 1985, the rice yield reached 6.9 tons per hectare, an 11.9 percent increase over 1982; the corn yield reached 2.8 tons per hectare, a 43 percent increase compared to 1982; 4,500 tons of vegetables and fruit were exported, a 3,000 ton increase over 1982; 157 tons of soybeans were produced, 58 tons more than in 1982; and 502 tons of peanuts were grown, a 351 ton increase compared to 1982. The value of the district's total agricultural output rose from 230 million dong in 1983 to 275 million dong in 1985, an average annual increase of 5.6 percent. Of this amount, the realized value of goods reached 215 million dong in 1985, a 7.9 percent increase over 1982 and the equivalent of 53 percent of the value of the district's agricultural-industrial output.

During the past several years, despite many difficulties, we have increased the production of the small industry and handicraft trade sector of the district to 37 percent of the total value of agricultural-industrial output, absorbed within the sector some 1,000 non-agricultural laborers and more than 7,000 unemployed laborers of the trade sector and trained more than 2,000 technical laborers for agriculture.

In 1985, the district exported goods worth a total of 43.5 million dong, a 13.6-fold increase compared to 1983. On the basis of these exports, the district imported various types of materials and equipment, such as nitrogen fertilizer, pesticides, trucks, warehouse frames and so forth, to support production and the everyday needs of the people.

The material and cultural lives of the district's people, although still marked by many difficulties, are stable and gradually being improved. Per capita grain consumption rose from 273 kilograms in 1982 to 287 kilograms in 1985 and 90.4 percent of farm families have a brick home with a tile roof. In the fields of cultural work, information and physical culture-sports, the district has become the progressive unit of the municipality.

Besides the achievements that have been recorded, our district still has some shortcomings. These shortcomings are impeding the development of production and affecting the life of the district's people. In keeping with Party Secretariat Directive 79 and the self-criticism and criticism campaign within the party, our district party committee squarely faced facts and pointed out our shortcomings in order to find ways to correct them and overcome the difficulties being faced.

The agricultural production of our district has not developed in a steady or stable manner. Yields are low and not commensurate with the potentials that lie in our land and labor. Not one of the three basic targets set by the 13th Congress of the District Party Organization has been met (compared to the plan, only 86.5 percent of the rice yield target, 50 percent of the labor target and 70 percent of the target on the number of hogs being raised have been met). Vegetable production has declined in terms of the amount of area under cultivation, yields and output. The basic causes of this decline have been unreasonable price policies and unstable markets. Appropriate attention has not been given to investing capital in rebuilding water conservancy projects and in the production of crop seed within the district. Prolonged waterlogging and drought still occur in the areas north of the Duong River and corrective measures have not been taken. Meanwhile, we have been using our capital to build other projects that are not truly necessary. As regards seed, our district has yet to establish an allocation of varieties that is well suited to its soil and still must import 60 percent of its NN8 rice seed and 100 percent of its corn seed. In livestock production, poor management of breeding stock has resulted in a serious decline in the sow herd. We have not taken determined, concerted and well coordinated measures to guide intensive cultivation, consequently, economic efficiency is low even though the amount of capital invested has increased.

In small industry and the handicraft trades, our district has not given appropriate attention to providing the necessary guidance. Investments in the development of small industry and the handicraft trades remain low and unevenly distributed. Policies have not been adopted which appropriately encourage the traditional handicraft trades and the production of exports. In the field of distribution and circulation, our district also has a number of shortcomings. Socialist commerce within the district, although it controls 65 percent of essential consumer goods, still does not control the market. The "free" market is still being allowed to overpower the organized market. Goods coming into the district from the outside are not being managed and goods of state-operated commerce are still being siphoned to the outside through collusion between private merchants and sales personnel.

The above mentioned weaknesses of our district are due to many reasons. They are partly due to objective difficulties caused by the weather and to the

consequences of the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies. However, they are mainly due to a lack of dynamism and initiative on our part in changing the way that we think and work and our failure to take determined, positive measures in organizing implementation.

To meet the requirements involved in developing the economy and stabilizing the life of the people within the district and help to successfully meet the socio-economic targets that will be set by the 6th National Congress of the Party, the guidelines of Gia Lam District in the years ahead are to build an agro-industrial economic structure and eventually become an industrial-agricultural and exporting district.

--In agricultural production, our district will endeavor during the years from 1986 to 1990 to stabilize the amount of area under the cultivation of rice at 10,000 hectares and increase the cultivation of corn from 2,600 hectares in 1986 to 3,000 hectares in 1990, with winter corn production increasing from 874 hectares to 1,600 hectares. Efforts will be made to increase vegetable production from 1,450 hectares to 1,750 hectares and potato production from 200 hectares to 500 hectares by 1990. Efforts will also be made to raise the yield of rice from 7 tons per hectare in 1986 to 9-10 tons per hectare in 1990; raise the yield of corn from 2.2 tons per hectare in 1986 to 3.5-4 tons per hectare in 1990; and raise vegetable yields from 15.2 tons per hectare in 1985 to 21 tons per hectare in 1990. In livestock production, our district will endeavor to increase the size of the hog herd from 38,000 hogs in 1986 to 48,000 in 1990; increase the number of buffalo and head of cattle being raised to 9,600 by 1990; and increase the number of poultry being raised from 300,000 to 400,000.

--As regards small industry and handicraft production, our district will attach importance to developing the processing of grain, food products, agricultural products, vegetables and fruit, livestock feed, pharmaceuticals and so forth, with special attention to upgrading the equipment of the machine sector and providing it with additional technicians. In the years ahead, we will endeavor to produce from 15 million to 17 million ceramic products of all types and raise total output value from 60 million dong in 1986 to 87 million dong in 1990 (with the value of exports increasing from 5 million to 15 million dong). The district's small industry and handicraft sector will try to produce 42.2 percent of the total value of the district's agricultural and industrial output in 1988 and 48 percent in 1990.

--The structure of our district's economy will change as follows (1986 compared to 1990): the value of agricultural-industrial output will increase from 536 million dong to 823 million dong (an average annual rate of 16.1 percent), with the value of agricultural output rising from 313 million dong, 58.2 percent of the total, to 432 million dong, 62 percent of the total, and the value of industrial and handicraft output rising from 224.8 million dong, 39.6 percent of the total, to 394 million dong, 48 percent of the total. The value of exported agricultural products and handicraft art products will rise from 3,729 rubles-dollars to 5,298 rubles-dollars. The quantity of grain included in the balance will increase from 40,105 tons to 55,000-60,000 tons. To achieve these norms, our district will, by 1990, stabilize per capita consumption by the agricultural population at 216 kilograms of grain, 120-130

kilograms of green vegetables, 10-15 kilograms of eggs, 10-12 kilograms of meat or fish and 2.5-3 meters of cloth and build many brick houses with tile roofs.

To meet the above mentioned socio-economic targets, the following measures must be taken:

1. Reorganizing production:

Within agriculture, it is necessary to thoroughly develop the potentials that lie in the land and existing material-technical bases of our district and, on the basis of the planning that has been formulated, establish the four key production zones and a suitable allocation of crops within each: the rice growing zone, the vegetable and subsidiary food crop growing zone, the industrial and special products crop zone and the flowers, fruit and food products growing zone. Each agricultural zone of the district must be closely tied to following handicraft trades: the embroidery trade, the rug trade, the ceramics and pottery trade and the processing of agricultural products. Within agricultural cooperatives and the towns, we will strongly develop the trade sector so that everyone has a job and full use is made of each source of raw materials and subsidiary products of agriculture.

In small industry and the handicraft trades, we must implement the guideline of developing the refined handicraft trades in a manner closely tied to modern small industry. In the years ahead, we will develop and expand the variety of traditional products, the cooperatives within the trade sector and the specialized production teams and encourage and create the conditions for the development of household handicraft production. We will restructure the ceramic and pottery sector in order to produce many products for domestic consumption and exportation.

As regards export-import activities, our district will assign cadres and personnel who are well versed in specialized technical fields and are close to production to organize and instruct laborers in the production of export goods to insure that we achieve higher productivity and quality and that products are consistent with the tastes of consumers at home as well as abroad. On the basis of increasing our exports, we will import the supplies and raw materials needed to directly support intensive cultivation within agriculture and small industry and handicraft production.

With regard to the development of the household economy, our district will apply the Da Ton model throughout the district through the VAC (truck farming, pisciculture and animal husbandry), VA (truck farming and pisciculture) and VC (truck farming and animal husbandry) systems and other forms suited to each family. The problem we face is how to insure that each family produces many vegetables, much fruit and many food products so that, in addition to meeting personal consumption needs, these products can also be supplied to the municipality.

## 2. Widely Applying Scientific and Technical Achievements

Applying scientific and technical achievements is an important factor in developing diversified production within the district. The rapid and extraordinary development of the scientific-technological revolution in the world and here at home demands that we truly respond quickly and rapidly apply scientific and technical advances to support production and everyday life with the aim of achieving higher productivity, quality and economic efficiency within the district.

Within agriculture, we will establish a clearly defined allocation of crops for each zone and season and establish groups of pure varieties suited to each type soil. To institute intensive cultivation and multicropping and achieve high yields, our district party committee will guide each cooperative in using grade 1 and grade 2 NN8 and CR03 pure seed as their main varieties of rice, making up 95 percent of the district's allocation of rice varieties; using only the VN1, SB49 and TSB2 varieties of corn; using the Tram Xuyen variety of peanuts in 80 to 90 percent of peanut production; and using only the AK02 and V74 varieties of soybean. And, depending upon the specific situation during each season and within each zone, the ratio among new varieties will be appropriately adjusted with the aim of meeting the strict requirements of the season.

Together with establishing the allocation of crop varieties, our district will adopt satisfactory policies designed to encourage cooperatives and cooperative member families to develop livestock production. As regards sows, we will invest in technology, conduct crossbreeding and adhere to selection standards in order to establish, in the next 3 to 4 years, a stable sow herd of high quality. On the other hand, we will also attach importance to the crossbreeding of cattle in order to establish a herd that provides draft power and meat and eventually milk as well. In conjunction with developing new, high yield breeds, we will take specific measures to harshly deal with units and localities that are conservative, stagnant and haphazard in the use and maintenance of crop varieties and livestock breeds.

In the years ahead, our district will try to mechanize from 70 to 80 percent of rice production and 100 percent of spring corn production and gradually mechanize planting. As regards water conservancy, our district will invest capital, labor and technology in the construction of the Duong Ha drainage pump station; in making thorough use of the irrigation and drainage capacity of existing projects; in zoning small areas for the purpose of achieving partial control of waterlogging; in rebuilding self-regulating ditches and regularly repairing canals and ditches, particularly the level III sluice and ditch systems; in completing the planning of systematic irrigation for each area and village; and in strengthening and improving the quality of the water conservancy projects in the flood plain, with attention to zoning scientifically based irrigation and drainage areas within the flood plain.

Our district has formulated a plan for investing fertilizer in accordance with the requirements of intensive cultivation for each type crop, a plan which provides for 15 to 20 kilograms of urea nitrogen, from 3 to 3.5 tons of livestock manure and 30 kilograms of phosphate per ton of rice products and



for 2-2.5 kilograms of nitrogen, 30 kilograms of phosphate and 5-7 kilograms of potash per ton of corn products. At the same time, it provides fertilizer for a number of other crops.

On the basis of the above requirements, our district, in addition to the fertilizer supplied by the state, will import from 2,500 to 4,000 tons of nitrogen fertilizer, phosphate fertilizer, potash and pesticides. To obtain from 170,000 to 220,000 tons of organic fertilizer, we will launch a movement among the people of the district to make green manure, adopt a policy which provides incentive for the development of green manure production, mainly duckweed, and for making full use of peanut stalks, soybeans and sesbania; and organize labor to extract and apply on fields pond mud and alluvium.

### 3. Strengthening Production Relations

To maintain the size of cooperatives and strengthen socialist production relations, our district will join with its villages at an early date to conduct a review of and gain experience from the implementation of Directive 100 with a view toward determining where strengths lie so that they can be developed upon and determining where weaknesses lie in order to correct them. In the immediate future, the task of strengthening production relation within our district demands that we intensify the construction of material-technical bases; establish production zones and an efficient allocation of crops; carry out the redistribution of labor within cooperatives; organize the development of the trade sector; and strengthen and improve the quality of specialized units.

Cooperatives must control seed, the preparation of fields, water conservancy and crop protection and sign contracts with the service corporations of the district, contracts which closely tie the operations of the district service corporations and the specialized units to the final results of production. The production unit must be the unit that implements the production plan, implements business practices and accounting and closely guides the implementation of the three factors of higher uniformity and the five tasks of the production unit. The experience of advanced cooperatives must be evaluated in a scientific and comprehensive manner. It is also necessary to establish the position of the production unit as the product contracting unit, insure that contracts are fulfilled and insure that fertilizer, pesticide and other materials are delivered to production units in the full amounts required and on time so that they control these materials and can deliver them to each cooperative member family at the very start of the season.

Within the field of distribution and circulation, attention must be given to developing and strengthening state-operated commerce and marketing cooperatives. The operations of state-operated commerce and marketing cooperatives must be oriented toward supporting production, particularly agricultural production, and supporting everyday needs. They must eventually control the vast majority of wholesale trade and the majority of important consumer goods and services.

#### 4. Strengthening the Corps of Cadres and the Basic Organizations of the Party

On the basis of the requirements involved in revamping the economic management mechanism and insuring the performance of socio-economic tasks within the district, we are gradually restructuring our organizational apparatus and reassigning cadres. To improve the quality of the corps of cadres in the immediate future and over the long range, our district has begun to plan the corps of cadres, from the leadership agencies of the party and administration and the mass organizations to management cadres from the production unit level upward. In the training of cadres, we are giving attention to training each type cadre by job title. Special attention is being given to training college educated cadres for the collective economic sector. Providing the key cadres of villages and cooperatives and the leadership and management cadres of corporations and enterprises with increased knowledge of economic management and social management is also a part of training. Importance is being attached to training at schools and classes and practical training with the aim of developing the capabilities of each type cadre as best possible.

We are also attaching importance to building solid and strong leadership collectives on the various levels of the party and administration and within the mass organizations of the district. Key leaders, more than anyone else, must be thoroughly familiar with their work, display a high sense of organization and discipline and a high spirit of responsibility in performing the tasks assigned to them and truly consider self-criticism and criticism to be a law in the development of the party.

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## ON THE BORDER OF THE FATHERLAND, HAI XUAN STEADILY MARCHES FORWARD

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 99-102

[Article by Tran Quang Thach]

[Text] The Hai Xuan Marketing Cooperative, which lies along the border between Vietnam and China in Hai Ninh District, Quang Ninh Province, was established in 1979 within the area of four merged cooperatives, the Xuan Hoa, Xuan Hai, Xuan Ninh and Van Xuan Cooperatives, and the town of Mong Cai. Since 17 February 1979, Hai Xuan, located as it is in the scorched land along the border of the fatherland, has been fighting the wide-ranging war of sabotage of the expansionists and hegemonists. Although it has experienced difficulties and hardships, the Hai Xuan Marketing Cooperative has always successfully completed its tasks of supporting production and the life of the people, supporting combat and the maintenance of combat readiness. It has become a model unit of the home trade sector and been awarded the title "Unit of Labor Heroes" by the state.

### I. Organizing Sources of Goods Well To Support Production and the Life of the People, Helping To Maintain Security and Defend the Border of the Fatherland

Against the background of our country being both at peace and at war, the Hai Xuan Marketing Cooperative, in addition to serving as an agent for state-operated commerce, has also developed local sources of goods in order to meet the production and consumer needs of the people. The marketing cooperative has established its business objectives as supporting agricultural production and the life of the people and using its economic returns to help build the new countryside. There has long been a very serious shortage of farm implements among the farmers of this area. Ever since the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists unleashed their war of encroachment and occupation along the border and their war of wide-ranging sabotage against our country, farm implements have been in even shorter supply.

To correct this situation, the province commerce sector sent in products from Tien Yen, Hoanh Ho and Hong Gai. Although the quantity of farm implements sent to the marketing cooperative was large, these implements were not compatible with production habits within the locality. These goods went

unsold and farmers still had to buy their implements on the free market at high prices. A number of blacksmiths went into other, more profitable trades, consequently, the shortage of farm implements became even more serious.

In the face of this situation, the Hai Xuan Marketing Cooperative took the initiative and discussed with the agricultural cooperative the establishment of a farm implement machine section within the village. The cooperative sent persons to find technically skilled persons and procure discarded materials, such as scrap brass, aluminum and iron. With that, scores of products compatible with production and consumer needs and habits within the locality were produced. On the other hand, the marketing cooperative has also arranged for skilled craftsmen to instruct and train youths. The machine section has displayed dynamism and creativity, producing from 2,500 to 3,000 products per year. In addition to being supplied to the agricultural cooperative, these products are also sold to a number of neighboring villages. These practical efforts by the marketing cooperative have helped Hai Xuan to not only achieve self-sufficiency in grain, but also to meet and exceed obligations on the sale of products to the state. The rice yield in Hai Xuan exceeds 5 tons per hectare. In a number of mountain villages along the border, such an achievement represents a major effort. In fact, at many places that have similar natural conditions but do not have to contend with constant attacks by the enemy, rice yields are even lower.

To obtain an ample supply of pork for the people of the village and to meet obligations to the state, the marketing cooperative has assisted the development of the hog herd of cooperative member families. The marketing cooperative discussed with the agricultural cooperative turning over to the agricultural cooperative the amount of paddy it intended to invest in the raising of sows so that the marketing cooperative could unify management and distribution. The marketing cooperative distributes this paddy to cooperative member households experienced in raising sows, who then deliver to the marketing cooperative from 1,500 to 2,000 little pigs each year. The marketing cooperative distributes these pigs to cooperative members to be raised for meat. Each year, Hai Xuan produces from 1,800 to 2,000 hogs ready for market, each weighing an average of 85 kilograms. Because its procurement prices are reasonable, the marketing cooperative annually procures 85 percent of cooperative members' hogs that are ready for market. This practice of the marketing cooperative saves the state dozens of tons of pork each year because, from the standpoint of economic efficiency, if the cooperative were to transport live hogs in from Thai Binh and Hai Hung Provinces, 15 to 20 percent of these hogs would be lost in shipment, not to mention the cost of gasoline and truck rental. In Hai Xuan, the marketing cooperative delivers to the state more than 70 tons of pork, live weight, locally each year.

Of even greater importance is the fact that the marketing cooperative has gained effective control over the sources of food products in order to provide timely support within this critical area, thereby helping to narrow the gap between supply and demand within the area and, on the other hand, helping to correct the imbalance among the various areas. In Hai Xuan, everyone raises vegetables, raises onions, garlic, melons and gourds on their household plots. Their habit used to be to raise vegetables only to eat, not to sell. Meanwhile, the armed forces stationed in the Hai Xuan area lacked vegetables.

On the basis of this consumer need, the marketing cooperative mobilized cooperative members to begin producing many vegetables for sale to the cooperative. The marketing cooperative provides cooperative members with seed and seedlings of such crops as kohlrabi, cabbage and spinach. Because it is very fair in its trade relations, the marketing cooperative has persuaded many cooperative members to sell products to it. Having begun with one procurement and sales point, the marketing cooperative now buys and sells products at many different points. It has also established a mobile team that buys and sells products at gardens and wharves, thus making trade convenient. Each year, the marketing cooperative procures 100 tons of green vegetables and 50 tons of marine products to serve the armed forces and people within the village. In Hai Xuan, the need for green vegetables is very large. Were it not for the marketing cooperative coordinating with the agricultural cooperative in organizing the development of production and local procurements, it would be difficult to meet this need. In its guidelines for long-range development, the marketing cooperative has included fruit crops, such as apples and peaches, to be raised by cooperative members on their "5 percent" plots. In recent years, Hai Xuan has been raising pimientos for exportation. This product has been generating rather high economic returns.

Among the everyday consumer goods used in Hai Xuan, woven bamboo products are also indispensable to the laboring people, particularly in recent years, years during which there has been a serious shortage of these goods on the rural market. The marketing cooperative has organized idle labor within agriculture and elderly persons in teams producing such woven bamboo products as woven bamboo pieces, bailing buckets, various baskets, rope and so forth using raw materials that are readily available within the locality. As a result, the marketing cooperative procures thousands of products each year to support the production and consumer needs of cooperative member families.

As a result of the marketing cooperative controlling the sources of goods well and developing sources of goods, there is not one private merchant operating on the market in Hai Xuan today and no major changes have occurred in market prices. The expansionists have been unable to send psychological warfare goods into our country and unable to establish border markets. The Hai Xuan Marketing Cooperative has helped to effectively resist the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage.

## II. Organizing Business in a Manner Consistent with a War Time Situation

A commerce unit that operates right along the border, the Hai Xuan Marketing Cooperative has defined its tasks as follows: "supporting the production and life of the people while also supporting combat and the maintenance of combat readiness." On the basis of this task, each business activity of the cooperative is organized in accordance with a very flexible plan during each different period of time. Within the village are five population clusters. The marketing cooperative has set up five procurement and sales points and a mobile sales unit. This distribution of stores is designed to make it convenient for the people to both buy and sell products. Even in the midst of enemy attacks, these stores continue to support the people and provide them thorough service. Beginning with the three stores that remained, the marketing cooperative designed and constructed two new stores with

contributions of manpower and building materials by cooperative members. Beside each store, the cooperative has dug trenches to provide protection against enemy artillery attacks. At each store, the marketing cooperative always has enough goods on hand to last for 7 to 10 days, all of which are neatly packaged. These packages are opened as needed or, when necessary, can be easily transported.

During the days that the village has been under heavy enemy siege, store personnel, realizing that the enemy would fire its artillery on any motorized vehicle on the road, have used horse-drawn carts and improved vehicles to transport goods from the district to the village and have shared the responsibility of delivering these goods to the various stores. From early in the morning until late at night, the cooperative always has on sale whatever persons need to buy and buys whatever anyone has to sell. As a result, the citizens of Hai Xuan have never lacked essential goods. Even at times of bitter warfare, they have continued to produce with a feeling of confidence and been ready to defend their village.

When an order is issued to evacuate the people, the marketing cooperative quickly packages goods and transports them dozens of kilometers into the interior to serve the people at evacuation sites. On such occasions, many persons have feared that the enemy would cross the border and steal their chickens and market weight hogs that had not yet been sold. The marketing cooperative, together with the mass organizations, has mobilized the people to evacuate the village and procured those items that they needed to sell so that everyone could evacuate the village with peace of mind. Once, Hai Xuan received an emergency order to evacuate the village in one night. During that night, the marketing cooperative urgently procured hogs from cooperative members. The cooperative sent persons to the homes of families short of help to make procurements. Families who were able to bring in their hogs were told by the cooperative to take them to their store for sale. On the other hand, the marketing cooperative also sent persons down to the five population clusters to weigh hogs, fill out invoices and promised to make payment later(\*). During that night, the marketing cooperative procured 20 tons of pork. This effort reflected dynamism and a spirit of responsibility and showed the close affection that the cadres and personnel of the marketing cooperative have for the people. There was another time when the marketing cooperative had just received a shipment of products (salt) and was ordered to evacuate immediately. It distributed this salt to the various production units for them to share. In only 4 hours, the cooperative's 10 tons of salt had been distributed to cooperative member households, who now had enough salt to last through the evacuation.

All the cadres and personnel of the Hai Xuan Marketing Cooperative know that their task is to stay with the people, stay with troops in order to support them. When the enemy launches artillery attacks, the cooperative's cadres and personnel seek shelter in the trenches. When enemy forces conduct acts of encroachment and occupation, they fight to protect the goods of the collective and defend themselves. Each of them has been equipped with a rifle and ammunition by the cooperative so that they are ready to fight. Everyone from the troops at forward positions to the gunners at the artillery positions in Hai Xuan receives packages of cigarettes, matches and candy brought to them by

personnel of the cooperative. It can be said that the spirit of serving others displayed by the cadres and personnel of the Hai Xuan Marketing Cooperative has contributed to the victories of the armed forces and people in this area.

The Hai Xuan Marketing Cooperatives is a basic economic unit that was rebuilt with practically nothing by way of liquid capital and assets. During the rebuilding years, many persons did not believe that the cooperative could be restored. However, as time went by, through the high determination of the local party organization and administration and the enthusiastic contributions made by the people of the village, the Hai Xuan Marketing Cooperative began operating efficiently. It has recorded many outstanding achievements and capably supported production, everyday life and combat, thereby helping to defend the land along the fatherland's border. Since 1980, the cooperative has completed every plan assigned to it and its business revenues have rapidly increased, from 361,715 dong in 1980 to 628,358 dong in 1981, 3,325,523 dong in 1982, 4,425,657 dong in 1984 and 11,161,990 dong in 1985 (old money).

During days of heavy artillery attacks by the expansionists and hegemonists, all cadres and personnel of the marketing cooperative are present at battle positions to participate in and support combat. Although it must constantly be combat ready and must fight against each act of war of the enemy, the cooperative still provides full and very thorough service for weddings and funerals to the families of war invalids and war dead.

During the past 5 years, the Hai Xuan Marketing Cooperative has steadfastly maintained its position, has tenaciously held its ground and excellently completed its task in exact accordance with the resolution of the provincial party committee: "regardless of the circumstances, you must cling to the land, cling to the people, cling to the army in order to do business and provide support."

Besides its strongpoints, the Hai Xuan Cooperative is also experiencing some problems that must be corrected. The use of capital is still decentralized. If the cooperative knew how to turn over its capital rapidly, its economic returns would be much higher. The marketing cooperative has yet to strongly develop its ability to do business in goods from local sources. In terms of sources of goods, Hai Xuan has large potentials, such as agricultural products, food products, marine products, woven bamboo products... The marketing cooperative must establish ties with other basic units in order to find new sources of goods and buy goods at other places in order to more fully meet the needs of the people. By displaying greater dynamism and creativity, by applying the line on socialist commerce in a more flexible manner and by relying upon the strength of the masses and thoroughly developing local

sources of goods, the Hai Xuan Marketing Cooperative will surely record even larger achievements in its business.

#### FOOTNOTES

\* The cooperative paid cooperative members in full in only 1 week.

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## THE REBIRTH OF CAMBODIAN CULTURE AND ART

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 86 pp 103-106, 82

[Article by Le Thanh Cong]

[Text] The age old culture and art of Cambodia, the pinnacle of which was the age of Angkor, reflect the remarkable creativity of the Cambodian people in many fields: architecture, sculpting, dance, music, literature, theatrical art, etc.

Through many feudal dynasties, some marked by flourishing times, others by times of decline, through years of domination by colonialists, both old and new, the culture and art of Cambodia have had many ups and downs. While the national identity of Cambodian culture and art has always remained strong, there have been more than a few influences of foreign culture, particularly, in the cities.

After 17 April 1975, when Cambodia fell into the hands of the Pol Pot butchers, its culture and art suffered heavy losses, the butchers not only abolished every structure of society and destroyed the material-technical base of the economy, but also destroyed Cambodia's traditional culture. The historic victory won on 7 January 1979 crushed the genocidal regime, saved the nation of Cambodia and marked the beginning of the rebirth of the country and the rebirth of the age old culture of the Cambodian people.

Despite having to deal with very many difficulties caused by the ruthless destruction carried out by the Pol Pot regime and with the insane attacks now being carried out by the expansionists and hegemonists with the support and guidance of the U.S. imperialists and other international reactionary powers, the Cambodian revolution has steadily developed. The position and forces of the revolution have become increasingly strong. The new regime has been steadily consolidated. The country is changing in every respect with each passing day.

Together with the remarkable rebirth of the nation, Cambodia's culture and art are also quickly coming back to life. "The soul of the nation must be rapidly restored," "revolutionary sentiment must be rapidly cultivated," this is the determination of the entire party and all the people of Cambodia on the culture-art front. In this spirit, immediately after it was established, the

Cambodian Ministry of Information-Culture quickly brought together in the capital surviving artists from all parts of the country and rapidly restored or built a number of representative, national culture-art projects. In particular, the Achievements of Angkor Center, the Institute of Archeology, the Royal Palace, the Silver Temple and other projects, all of which are of high artistic value and a source of pride to the Cambodia people, have opened their doors to domestic and foreign visitors. A national song and dance company has been established. Through its performances, it has reawakened the fine traditions of the nation and praised the new revolutionary sentiments. The Crimes Documentation Center at the Toul Steng Prison, the films "Cambodia Three + Four"(\*) and "What Is Your Name, Child?", which have been awarded international gold medals, and other projects have exposed the genocide committed by the Pol Pot regime and presented the just cause of the Cambodian revolution and the wholehearted, noble assistance given by the people of Vietnam and other fraternal and friendly countries to the Cambodian people.

The activities described above have been widely conducted, not only in the capital, but in the various localities as well. They have promptly and successfully supported political education campaigns and the celebration of the major anniversaries and holidays of the country, particularly the 1st and 5th anniversaries of the liberation of Cambodia.

The cunning enemy has been waging a wide-ranging war of sabotage in Cambodia and has made ideological and cultural sabotage a main front in this war. They have employed every conceivable tactic and made many insidious allegations in a vain attempt to distort the lines and policies of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, sow suspicion and divisions among the people and provoke dissatisfaction with and opposition to the new regime. They have also sowed the seeds of pessimistic and negative thinking and encouraged superstitious beliefs in a vain attempt to re-establish backward customs. In many different ways, through books, newspapers and pictures, through cassettes and even various types of luxury goods, they have been introducing reactionary, decadent culture in Cambodia in a futile effort to establish a lavish and decadent way of life, corrupt cadres and the people and lead them far from the revolution.

To thwart these evil schemes and actions being carried out by hostile forces, activities in the fields of information, culture and art have, under the leadership of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, been closely coordinated with propaganda and educational work within the party and even among the masses. Together with publishing books, newspapers and new types of cultural products and making cassettes to disseminate wholesome music and songs, the culture and information sector has, along with security agencies, carried out inspection campaigns to thwart the unwholesome cultural and art activities of the enemy.

In July 1980, Cambodia's cultural sector held a national music festival. In 1981, 1982 and 1983, it successfully organized, together with Vietnam and Laos, the Traditional Art Festival of the three countries of Indochina. These activities have been very important in restoring the old culture that was destroyed during the times of Pol Pot.

Besides profoundly national forms of music, dance and theatrical art, such as classical dance, traditional dance, folk dance, Shech Thon, Di Ke and Bat Sac, the themes of which have been improved with the aim of supporting political tasks, Cambodia now has dramatic works which deal with themes aimed at solving the burning issues of everyday life, a uniquely Cambodian circus and major opera performances attended by 300 to 400 persons. The most significant among these is the play "The Process of the Cambodian Revolution," which recalls the different stages in the history of the Cambodians, from the Angkor era to the present day, exposing the heinous tactics of the traitorous rulers in feudal society and extolling the role played by the laboring people as the masters of their destiny. These new forms of art have had a profound educational effect upon the people, bringing them to the leading edge of life, to the battle positions in production and combat. It can be said that, today, the culture and art of Cambodia are serving the function of always being one step ahead in teaching ideology, in molding the new man and woman, thus helping to build and defend the fatherland and stimulating socio-economic development in a manner befitting their role and task.

Deserving of attention is that Cambodia's culture and art clearly reflect the line on combining the traditional with the modern, combining the national and the international, combining the spirit of the party and a profound popular spirit. These are the results of a process fraught with difficulties, because, under the regimes of the past, Cambodia's culture and art were rather profoundly influenced by the backward, reactionary views of the ruling classes. On the other hand, the decadent culture now found in some countries of the world has infiltrated Cambodia by every conceivable means. In this situation, the victories won by Cambodia in the field of culture and art are the result of studying Marxism-Leninism, researching the special characteristics of the nation and the realities of Cambodian society, examining the experiences of the fraternal countries and, on this basis, adopting a correct line for developing culture and art in a manner consistent with the realities of Cambodia.

To insure the successful implementation of the leading party's line on culture and art, it is very necessary to quickly build the organizational system from the central down to the basic levels.

With society having recently emerged from years of destruction and upheaval, the Cambodian Ministry of Information and Culture has adopted the policy of coordinating the solid construction capabilities on the central and provincial levels, the two strategic levels, in order to guide activities while building primary cultural units (such as wired radio stations, literature and art units, film projection units and so forth) to conduct activities in support of the masses and organize the mass cultural movement.

Information and cultural organizations on the district and village levels have been constructed. Their activities are oriented toward strengthening the cultural movement on the basic level. The movement has developed widely and is particularly intense on the occasion of anniversaries, holidays and festivals. Since 1980, provincial, regional and national performing arts festivals have been held annually.

Today, Cambodia has four major newspapers (the newspaper of the party, the newspaper of the Front, the newspaper of the army and the newspaper of the capital Phnom Penh); five publishing houses on the central level (the Light of the Revolution Publishing House, the Army Publishing House, the Education Publishing House, the Cultural Publishing House and the Youths and Teenagers Publishing House); 21 radio stations on the central and local levels; 4 national museums (the Museum of Archeology, the Royal Palace and Silver Temple Museums, the Crimes of Genocide Museum and the Army Museum); and 3 national exhibit halls (at these exhibit halls, the National Economic-Technical Fair and Exhibit was held as have been many major exhibits of the achievements of the country and the fraternal countries). Cambodia currently has 28 professional cultural entertainment companies (of the central level and the localities) and 587 mass literature and art units operating in practically every locality and basic unit, which annually serve about 10 million viewers. Cambodia has more than 200 libraries on the central, provincial and district levels and at agencies and armed units. More than 800 villages have signed emulation pledges to build new style villages. The new way of life and new social relations are forming and becoming ever more deeply rooted among the people. Fine customs and habits are being restored and built upon and the spirit of mutual assistance in everyday life in such things as helping one another to build homes, to plow fields and plant crops, to arrange weddings and funerals and so forth is being encouraged.

The main guidelines of Cambodia's culture and art sector are to boldly shift the focus of activities to the basic unit and make the district its base, the basic unit its battle position, with the aim of strengthening the new culture. Practical experience has shown that wherever the cultural sector coordinates with the other sectors well, relies upon the youth union and the Front committee and closely ties cultural activities to the school--the new cultural center--and the temple--the old cultural center--in order to build upon the influence of the new culture, the cultural movement is quickly restored and develops well. At the same time, special importance has been attached to strengthening the cultural agencies on the provincial level and improving the quality of work of the cultural agencies on the central level with a view toward insuring that these cultural agencies fulfill their role as the nucleus and the center providing professional and specialized guidance.

In conjunction with building the cultural and art organization, Cambodia has also attached importance to building the corps of cultural and art cadres. Under the Pol Pot regime, 90 percent of the persons working in culture and art in Cambodia were killed. Today, the survivors, persons from many different circumstances, have been brought together. With their patriotic spirit and revolutionary will and educated by the party, these cadres have been wholeheartedly serving the cause of revolution. They have united with and trust one another, have assisted one another in restoring Cambodia's culture. The party and state of Cambodia have also attached special importance to training and raising the standards of culture and art cadres. Training at classes and schools has been combined with practical training. The assignment of the force of core cadres has been combined with building core teams, building the organizations of the party and the youth union within the cultural sector.

In addition to sending cadres to political schools organized by the Party Central Committee the Cambodian Ministry of Information and Culture has held many training classes to raise the political and professional standards of district level cadres, the service directors and specialized cadres. In 1980, Cambodia opened an art school consisting of five departments (dance, music, fine arts, theatrical arts and circus arts), which has accepted about 480 students. Thousands of culture and art cadres have been trained and show many good prospects. However, there is still a very serious shortage of management cadres and skilled specialized cadres. Therefore, the Cambodian party and state are attaching importance to training many more cadres of these types.

At present, Cambodia has cultural relations with more than 10 countries and has sent many groups to other countries to perform, attend film festivals, attend book, newspaper and photography exhibits, give physical culture and sports performances, participate in symposiums, etc. Cambodia has also received many foreign groups coming to observe and study its culture and art.

Seven years are but a moment in time compared to the history of a nation. However, in 7 years, the people of Cambodia have been reborn, have recorded remarkable achievements, achievements which include the rapid restoration of their culture and art. From the devastation, Cambodia's culture and art have been reborn and are a source of pride. More correctly stated, they have not only been restored, but also been developed to a level higher than that ever achieved under the old regimes, including the Sihanouk regime. This is the result of seriously implementing the culture and art line adopted by the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and the efforts made by Cambodia's corps of cultural cadres.

The achievements recorded by the people of Cambodia on the culture and art front are large, are very deserving of pride and represent a fine beginning. However, with admirable modesty and in the revolutionary-offensive spirit, the persons working in the fields of culture and art in Cambodia realize that many difficulties still lie ahead due to the circumstances surrounding Cambodia's revolutionary struggle and because the work of building the new culture is only in the initial stages.

We Vietnamese take great joy in the achievements recorded by fraternal Cambodia in culture and art in recent years. In view of the special relations between Vietnam and Cambodia, relations that have become a law in the survival of our two nations, we are firmly confident that the sincere and strong cooperation between the cultural sectors of the two countries will help to bring about even brighter achievements in the years ahead.

#### FOOTNOTES

\* Cambodia 3 years 4 months under the Pol Pot regime.

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END